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THE

WASHINGTON-CRAWFORD LETTERS

Concerning Western Lands

C. W. BUTTERFIELD

THE

WASHINGTON-CRAWFORD LETTERS.

BEING

THE CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

GEORGE WASHINGTON AND WILLIAM CRAWFORD,

FROM 1767 TO 1781,

Concerning Western Lands.

WITH AN APPENDIX, CONTAINING LATER LETTERS OF WASHINGTON ON THE SAME SUBJECT; AND LETTERS FROM VALENTINE CRAWFORD TO WASHINGTON, WRITTEN IN 1774 AND 1775,

CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED AND CAREFULLY ANNOTATED.

By C. W. BUTTERFIELD.

CINCINNATI:
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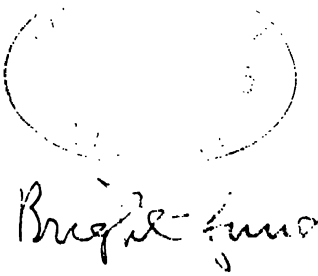

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PREFACE.

The following correspondence, largely a private one, kept up for nearly fourteen years, between Washington and William Crawford, is now given to the public with the belief that, in its revelations of the beginning of western land speculation, and the part taken therein by the writers, a contribution of value is made to American history. Much interest is added to these Letters because of their bringing to light incidents of importance, before but little known, in the early settlement of the trans-Alleghany region, and in Lord Dunmore's War.

Washington's letters, at a later date, to other parties, wherein he particularly describes his western lands, are well calculated to astonish the reader—so large and valuable were the tracts he had secured. The letters of Valentine Crawford will be found curious in their developments concerning Washington's personalty, as well as realty, in the Ohio Valley; and graphic in their allusions to the panic which seized the frontier people upon the commencement of hostilities with the Indians, in 1774. Several links also in the chain of western annals, heretofore considered as lost, are restored by them.

The awful death of William Crawford, by torture, at the hands of merciless savages, soon after the close of this correspondence, gives it a melancholy interest which otherwise would not attach to it—heightened, as it is by the knowledge that his fate not only greatly affected Washington, but caused

a profound sensation, at the time, throughout the United States. No officer of the American army, during the Revolution, perished so miserably. So long as the history of our country shall be read, the liveliest sympathy will continue to be excited at the recital of his dreadful sufferings, in what was then the far-off wilds of Sandusky.

C. W. B.

MADISON, WISCONSIN, *April*, 1877.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

WILLIAM CRAWFORD.

WILLIAM CRAWFORD was born about the year 1722, in Westmoreland county, Virginia,—the family early removing to Frederick county, beyond the Blue Ridge. Here he married Hannah Vance. Although learning of Washington the art of surveying, yet his principal duties were such as appertain to a farmer's life. In 1755, he forsook the compass and the plow for

"The pomp and circumstance of glorious war,"

receiving from the governor of Virginia a commission as ensign. He was first employed in garrison duty, or as a scout upon the frontiers. In 1758, he marched with the Virginia troops under Washington to Fort Duquesne, which post was reached and occupied in November. Crawford remained in the service, being promoted first to a lieutenantcy—afterwards commissioned as captain. At the close of hostilities, he returned to his home and resumed his labors of farmer and surveyor. In Pontiac's War, which followed the Seven Years' War, he took an active part, doing effective service in protecting the frontiers from savage incursions.

While in the Virginia army, Crawford became familiar with the country watered by the Monongahela and its branches. He had, indeed, become enamored of the trans-Alleghany region, and resolved, at some future day, to make it his home. The time had now arrived to put his resolution into practical effect. Early, therefore, in the summer of 1765, he reached the Youghiogheny river; where, at a place then known as "Stewart's Crossings," in what is now Fayette county, Pennsylvania, he chose his future residence, moving his family, consisting of his wife and three children, over the mountains in the spring of 1766. To Crawford, at this place, the next year, Washington

directed his letter of the twenty-first of September—the beginning of the correspondence set forth in the following pages. There had already been an intimacy between him and Crawford of not less than twenty years' standing; so that in writing to the latter in his new home beyond the Alleghanies, Washington was but corresponding with an old and tried friend. It will be seen that this correspondence was continued until near the time of the tragic scene which closed in horror the eventful life of Crawford.

Among the first employments of Crawford after his removal, besides farming, were surveying and trading with the Indians. During the year 1770, he was appointed one of the justices of the peace for his county—Cumberland, then the most westerly county of Pennsylvania. In the autumn of that year, he received a visit, at his humble cabin upon the Youghiogheny, from Washington, who was then on a tour down the Ohio. Crawford accompanied his friend to the Great Kanawha—the party returning to "Stewart's Crossings" late in November, whence Washington leisurely made his way back to Mt. Vernon.

In March, 1771, Bedford county having been formed from that part of Cumberland including the home of Crawford, he was appointed by Governor Penn one of the justices of the peace for the new county; and in 1773, the erection of Westmoreland from Bedford taking in his residence, he was commissioned one of the "Justices of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, and of the County Court of Common Pleas" for that county. As he was first named on the list of justices, he became by courtesy and usage the President Judge of Westmoreland—the first to hold that office in the county. He was, the same year, appointed surveyor for the Ohio Company, by the College of William and Mary.

In 1773, Lord Dunmore, then Governor of Virginia, paid a visit to Crawford at his house upon the Youghiogheny, the occasion being turned to profitable account by both parties: by the Earl, in getting reliable information of desirable lands; by Crawford, in obtaining promises for patents for such as he had sought out and surveyed. The next year—1774—occurred "Lord Dunmore's War," a conflict between the Virginians on the one side, and the Shawanese and Mingoes, principally, on the other. In this contest Crawford was a prominent actor;—first as captain of a company on a scouting expedition, building, subsequently, a

fort at the present site of Wheeling; afterward as major in command of troops belonging to the division of the army which descended the Ohio to the mouth of Hocking river, in what is now the State of Ohio. The only fighting done in the Indian country after the bloody battle of Point Pleasant on the tenth of October, was by a detachment under Crawford, in what is now Franklin county, Ohio, where he surprised and destroyed two Mingo villages, securing some prisoners as well as a considerable amount of plunder, and rescuing two white captives.

The interest taken by Crawford in this war operated greatly to prejudice his Pennsylvania friends against him; for among them the conflict had been an exceedingly unpopular one. Crawford, who, at first, had sided with Pennsylvania in the boundary controversy subsisting between it and Virginia, now took part with the latter; so he was ousted from all offices held by him under authority of the former province. In December, 1774, he had been commissioned by Dunmore a justice of the peace and a justice of Oyer and Terminer for the county of Augusta, the court to be held at Fort Dunmore (Pittsburgh). He did not qualify, however, for these offices, until after he had been superseded in those held by him under Pennsylvania authority. Augusta county, as claimed by Virginia, included Crawford's home upon the Youghiogheny; afterwards it was in the District of West Augusta, and finally in Yohogania county, until Virginia, in 1779, relinquished her claim to Southwestern Pennsylvania. Crawford not only took office under Virginia, but he became an active partizan in extending the jurisdiction of his native province over the disputed territory. Some of his acts were doubtless oppressive, though he soon atoned for them in his patriotic course upon the breaking out of the Revolution. The partizan feeling in his breast immediately gave place to the noble one of patriotism. He struck hands with Pennsylvanians in the cause of liberty.

In 1776, Crawford entered the Revolutionary service as lieutenant-colonel of the Fifth Virginia regiment—William Peachy, colonel. He remained with his regiment until called to the command of the Seventh in place of William Dangerfield resigned. Afterwards being assigned to the duty of raising a new regiment—the Thirteenth Virginia—he resigned his command of the Seventh. His time thus far had been spent east of the mountains; but now, late in the year, he returned to

his home, as the Thirteenth—"West Augusta regiment"—was to be raised west of the Alleghanies. In August, 1777, with about two hundred of his new levies, Crawford joined the main army under Washington, who was then near Philadelphia. He rendered efficient service in the preliminary movements which resulted in the battle of Brandywine, and in that contest not only took an active and prominent part, but came near being captured. He was also, it seems, in the battle of Germantown. Just before this, General Joseph Reed wrote Washington that he had "Colonel Crawford" with him, "a very good officer."

Late in 1777, Crawford returned to his home, having been sent to the West by Washington to take a command under Brigadier-General Edward Hand. The Commander-in-chief, in writing to the Board of War on the twenty-third of the following May (see Letter No. 34), spoke of Crawford as "a brave and active officer." His being ordered to the Western Department, lost him the command of the Thirteenth Virginia and his place in the Continental line, which Washington, although he regretted the circumstance, could not get restored to him. Under Brigadier-General Lachlan McIntosh, who succeeded Hand in August, 1778, at Pittsburgh, Crawford took command of the militia of the Western counties of Virginia and had in charge the building of Fort McIntosh at what is now Beaver, in Beaver County, Pennsylvania. He marched with that officer into the Indian country in November, in command of a brigade, and was present at the building in December of Fort Laurens, upon the west bank of the Tuscarawas river, in what is now Tuscarawas county, Ohio. He returned soon after to his home with but few prospects before him in a military way, nevertheless he lost no opportunity, when called upon, in serving his country; for he still held his commission as colonel, and continued to hold it until his death.

Notwithstanding the time spent by him in the army, Crawford still found leisure to fill several positions of honor and trust to which he had been called by his fellow-citizens at home. In November, 1776, he was appointed deputy-surveyor of Yohogania county, and sat at intervals in 1777 and the following year as one of its judges. In 1778, he was one of the commissioners for adjusting and settling the boundary line between Yohogania and Ohio counties, Virginia; and, in 1779, was commissioned as surveyor of his county, continuing in that office until going upon the expedition which cost him his life. It was in May, 1782, at

the urgent solicitation of Brigadier-General William Irvine, then in command of the Western Department, that Crawford volunteered upon a campaign against the Wyandot Indians living upon the Sandusky river, in the Northwestern part of what is now the State of Ohio. Elected to command the expedition, he marched, with less than five hundred borderers, into the western wilderness; fought the savages on the fourth of June with success, but was obliged the next day to retreat. He was soon after captured by the Delawares, and, on the eleventh, tortured at the stake by them, on a tributary of the Sandusky, in what is now Wyandot county, Ohio, with all the atrocity which savage ingenuity could devise. His awful sufferings were prolonged for a period of over four hours, when death put an end to his misery!

THE

WASHINGTON-CRAWFORD LETTERS.

No. 1.—Washington to Crawford.

Mount Vernon, *September* 21, 1767.

Dear Sir:—From a sudden hint of your brother's,[1] I wrote to you a few days ago in a hurry. Having since had more time for reflection, I now write deliberately, and with greater precision, on the subject of my last letter.

I then desired the favor of you (as I understood rights might now be had for the lands which have fallen within the Pennsylvania line,)[2] to look me out a tract of about fifteen hundred, two thousand, or more acres somewhere in your neighborhood, meaning only by this, that it may be as contiguous to your own settlement[3] as such a body of good land can be found. It will be easy for you to conceive that ordinary or even middling lands would never answer my purpose or expectation, so far from navigation,

---

[1] The brother of William Crawford, here referred to as having given Washington his first "hint" concerning the obtaining of a tract of land under Pennsylvania "rights," in the trans-Alleghany country, was Valentine Crawford.

[2] By the "Pennsylvania line," Washington meant the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Virginia, which, at that date, was being run beyond the Alleghany mountains. His understanding as to "rights" was erroneous, as will hereafter be seen.

[3] Crawford's residence was on the south side of the Youghiogheny river, at what is now the village of New Haven, opposite the present town of Connellsville, in Fayette county, Pennsylvania. The date of his first improvements was the fall of 1765. In the spring of the year following, he settled there permanently.

and under such a load of expenses as these lands are incumbered with. No; a tract to please me must be rich (of which no person can be a better judge than yourself), and, if possible, level. Could such a piece of land be found, you would do me a singular favor in falling upon some method of securing it immediately from the attempts of others, as nothing is more certain than that the lands can not remain long ungranted, when once it is known that rights are to be had.

The mode of proceeding I am at a loss to point out to you; but, as your own lands are under the same circumstances, self-interest will naturally lead you to an inquiry. I am told that the land or surveyor's office is kept at Carlisle. If so, I am of opinion that Colonel Armstrong,[1] an acquaintance of mine, has something to do in the direction of it, and I am persuaded he would readily serve me. I will write to him by the first opportunity on that subject, that the way may be prepared for your application to him, if you find it necessary. For your trouble and expense you may depend on being repaid. It is possible, but I do not know that it really is the case, that the custom in Pennsylvania will not admit so large a quantity of land as I require to be entered together; if so, this may perhaps be arranged by making several entries to the same amount, if the expense of doing it is not too heavy. This I only drop as a hint, leaving the whole to your discretion and good management. If the land can only be secured from others, it is all I want at present. The surveying I would choose to postpone, at least till the spring, when, if you can give me any satisfactory account of this matter, and of what I am next going to propose, I expect to pay you a visit about the last of April.

[1] John Armstrong. In September, 1756, as Lieutenant-Colonel, he led an expedition, composed of Pennsylvania troops and volunteers, from Fort Shirley, now Shirleysburg, Huntingdon county, Pennsylvania, against an Indian village upon the east side of the Alleghany river, above Fort Pitt, called Kittanning, which was completely successful. The town was upon the site of the present Kittanning, Armstrong county.

I offered in my last to join you in attempting to secure some of the most valuable lands in the King's part, which I think may be accomplished after awhile, notwithstanding the proclamation that restrains it at present, and prohibits the settling of them at all; for I can never look upon that proclamation in any other light (but this I say between ourselves) than as a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians. It must fall, of course, in a few years, especially when those Indians consent to our occupying the lands.[1] Any person, therefore, who neglects the present opportunity of hunting out good lands, and in some measure marking and distinguishing them for his own, in order to keep others from settling them, will never regain it. If you will be at the trouble of seeking out the lands, I will take upon me the part of securing them, as soon as there is a possibility of doing it, and will, moreover, be at all the cost and charges of surveying and patenting the same. You shall then have such a reasonable proportion of the whole as we may fix upon at our first meeting; as I shall find it necessary, for the better furthering of the design, to let some of my friends be concerned in the scheme, who must also partake of the advantages.

By this time it may be easy for you to discover that my plan is to secure a good deal of land. You will consequently come in for a very handsome quantity; and as you will obtain it without any costs or expenses, I hope you will be encouraged to begin the search in time. I would choose, if it were practicable, to get large tracts together; and it might be desirable to have them as near your settlement or Fort Pitt[2] as they can be obtained of good qual-

[1] The proclamation referred to was the King's proclamation of 1763, prohibiting all governors from granting warrants for lands to the westward of the sources of the rivers which run into the Atlantic, and forbidding all persons purchasing such lands or settling on them without special license from the Crown. The region that Washington designated as "the King's part" was outside of Pennsylvania.

[2] A fortress at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, at that date. The fort, previous to its occupation by the English in 1758, was called, by the French, Fort Duquesne.

ity, but not to neglect others at a greater distance, if fine bodies of it lie in one place. It may be worthy of your inquiry to find out how the Maryland back line will run,[1] and what is said about laying off Neale's grant. I will inquire particularly concerning the Ohio Company,[2] that we may know what to apprehend from them. For my own part, I should have no objection to a grant of land upon the Ohio, a good way below Pittsburgh, but would first willingly secure some valuable tracts nearer at hand.

I recommend, that you keep this whole matter a secret, or trust it only to those in whom you can confide, and who can assist you in bringing it to bear by their discoveries of land. This advice proceeds from several very good reasons, and, in the first place, because I might be censured for the opinion I have given in respect to the King's proclamation, and then, if the scheme I am now proposing to you were known, it might give the alarm to others, and, by putting them upon a plan of the same nature, before we could lay a proper foundation for success ourselves, set the different interests clashing, and, probably, in the end, overturn the whole. All this may be avoided by a silent management, and the operation carried on by you under the guise of hunting game, which you may, I presume, effectually do, at the same time you are in pursuit of land. When this is fully discovered, advise me of it, and if there appears but a possibility of succeeding at any time hence, I will have the lands immediately surveyed, to keep others off, and leave the rest to time and my own assiduity.

If this letter should reach your hands before you set out,

[1] See P. S. to Crawford's reply (Letter No. 2).

[2] This company was organized in 1748. Its members resided in Virginia and Maryland, with an associate in London—fourteen persons in all. Its object was the settling of the wild lands west of the Alleghany mountains, and to trade with the Indians. Its members obtained a grant from the Crown of five hundred thousand acres of land, to be chiefly taken on the south side of the Ohio, between the Monongahela and the Kanawha. The company was alive at the date of the above letter, but no lands had been surveyed. The Revolution put an end to its existence.

I should be glad to have your thoughts fully expressed on the plan here proposed, or as soon afterwards as convenient; for I am desirous of knowing in due time how you approve of the scheme. I am, etc.[1]

No. 2.—Crawford to Washington.

September 29, 1767.

Dear Sir:—I was favored with two letters from you, one dated the 13th and the other the 17th[2] instant.

I believe I can procure you what land you want in Pennsylvania, but can not tell what quantity they will allow in a survey: I shall inform myself the first opportunity. I have been through a great part of the good land on the north side of the Monongahela,[3] as far up as the mouth of Cheat river[4] and on both sides of the Youghiogheny[5] to the mouth and all its branches on the western side of the mountains. The chief part of the good land is taken up between the two rivers. When I came down there was some unsettled, yet very good, which I think would please you. Few or none had settled over the Monongahela, as

[1] This letter is one of two from Washington to Crawford, published by Jared Sparks, in his Writings of Washington. (Vol. II, pp. 346–350.)

[2] Crawford has here incorrectly given the date of Washington's second letter. It was written on the 21st. At that period, it was eight days of ordinary travel from Mt. Vernon to the home of Crawford.

[3] The Monongahela is formed by the West Fork and Tygart's Valley rivers, West Virginia. After receiving on the right two principal tributaries—Cheat river and the Youghiogheny—it unites at Pittsburgh with the Alleghany, to form the Ohio.

[4] Cheat river is formed by the junction of Shavers, Laurel, Glade, and Dry Forks, in West Virginia. It enters the Monongahela on the right, at the southwest extremity of Fayette county, Pennsylvania.

[5] The Youghiogheny (pronounced Yoh-ho-ga-nee) rises in West Virginia, flows through Maryland into Pennsylvania, and enters the Monongahela on the right, fifteen miles south of Pittsburgh.

they did not care to settle there for fear of disturbing the Indians.[1]

I have pitched upon a fine piece of land on a stream called Chartier's creek, near the head, about twenty-five miles from Fort Pitt. It empties into the Ohio about five miles below the fort on the south side.[2] The land consists of low bottoms, from a quarter to half a mile wide. The upland is as level as common for that country to be—rich and well-timbered; the stream is a good one, fit for water-works. There may be had, in one tract, about two or three thousand acres or better, I believe, where I was on the creek; and I am told by the Indians that it holds good down to the mouth. You may, if you please, join me in that, if no person has taken it before I get out. The chiefest danger is from the fort,[3] as I understand there have some surveyors gone up lately from Pennsylvania,[4] in order to run out some land; but when or for whom, I know not. I will get you what you want near my settlement, if it should not be all taken up before I get out.

I have hands now engaged to work for me; and when I go out, I shall raise a cabin and clear some land on any I shall like or think will suit you. I shall take a set of surveyor's instruments,[5] and pitch upon a beginning, and run round the whole, and slash down some bushes, taking the several courses, which will enable you the better to make the entry.

As to the land on the King's side of the line, there have but few settled there yet, or had when I came down; as the line runs farther south of Pittsburgh than was ever imagined. The line crosses Cheat river at McCulloch's Land-

[1] The Six Nations (including the Mingoes), with the Delawares and Shawanese, claimed, at this date, the whole country west of the Alleghany mountains, lying upon the Ohio.

[2] Chartier's creek rises in Washington county, Pennsylvania, flows a north-northeast course, and empties into the Ohio on the left, a short distance below Pittsburgh.

[3] Fort Pitt.

[4] "From Pennsylvania;"—that is, from over the Alleghany mountains.

[5] Crawford was a surveyor. He learned the art of Washington, while the latter was surveying for Lord Fairfax.

ing, about five miles from the mouth. They have run as far as Monongahela, but are stopped there by the Indians,[1] who, I understand, say they shall not run any farther till they are paid for the land. This will put a stop to the line being run till a council is held, and the result of it is known. But as to the truth of this, I do not know, as it was only flying news; but I am ready to think there may be something in it, as the Indians are not paid for the land. They have told me they could not tell the reason that Sir William Johnson[2] should ask them for land to settle his poor people on, and then not pay them for it, nor allow the poor people to settle on it. Some of them say they believe some of the great men in Philadelphia want to take the land themselves; but, however, be that as it may, it can not be settled until the line is run, and then the Crown will know what each has to pay the Indians for, which would have been done this fall if they had not been stopped. There is no liberty for settling in Pennsylvania—or in that part supposed to be in that province—yet;[3] but I believe

[1] The party running the line reached the Monongahela on the 27th, two days before the date of Crawford's letter. The surveyors were not actually stopped at the river, but at a point a little west of what is now Mount Morris, in Greene county, Pennsylvania. It was seventeen years before the line was extended farther.

[2] Sir William Johnson resided in the Mohawk valley, in the province of New York. He was, at that date, colonial agent and sole superintendent of the affairs of the Six Nations and other northern tribes. He received his appointment from King George II.

[3] Not only was there "no liberty for settling in Pennsylvania" west of the mountains at that date, but settlers, except such as had permits from the military authorities, were considered as trespassers upon Indian territory. In February following, a law was passed inflicting the severest penalties against any who should remain beyond the Alleghanies within the limits of that province, with the exceptions before mentioned. Happily, however, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in the ensuing autumn, the Indians disposed of their lands southeast of the Ohio; and the proprietaries of Pennsylvania purchased a large tract, including all the territory west of the mountains as far north as Kittanning on the Alleghany river, and bounded on the west and south by the limits of that province. This took in all the western settlements within its charter lines, and put an end, for some years, to troubles with the Indians in that section.

there would be as soon as the line was run. The line, if run out, would go over Monongahela about thirty miles. Where the north line will cross the Ohio river, I do not know until I see the end of the west line. Then I can come pretty near to it; but I am apt to think it will cross below Fort Pitt; of that I shall be better able to satisfy you in my next letter.[1]

With regard to looking out land in the King's part, I shall heartily embrace your offer upon the terms you proposed; and as soon as I get out and have my affairs settled in regard to the first matters proposed, I shall set out in search of the latter. This may be done under a hunting scheme (which I intended before you wrote me), and I had the same scheme in my head, but was at a loss how to accomplish it. I wanted a person in whom I could confide —one whose interest could answer my ends and his own. I have had several offers, but have not agreed to any; nor will I with any but yourself or whom you think proper.

There will be a large body of land on the south side of the west line toward the heads of Monongahela waters, and head-waters of Greenbrier[2] and New river;[3] but the latter I am apt to think will be taken before I can get to see it, as I understand there have been some gentlemen that way this summer—Dr. Walker[4] and some others; but

[1] Crawford's idea of the southern and western boundary of Pennsylvania west of the Alleghanies was pretty nearly correct; but he, along with many other Virginians in that region, afterward changed his mind.

[2] The Greenbrier river rises at the base of the Greenbrier mountain, in West Virginia, flowing south-westward until it enters New river.

[3] New river, at that date, was a name frequently given to the Kanawha. It is now restricted to the upper portion, above the mouth of the Gauley, in West Virginia, while all below is known as the Great Kanawha. The latter enters the Ohio on the left, at Point Pleasant, a distance of two hundred and sixty-seven miles, by the course of the river, below Pittsburgh. In early times, the name was generally written Kenhawa.

[4] Thomas Walker was born in King and Queen county, Virginia, in the year 1710. He studied medicine and became a skillful physician. His home was at "Castle Hill," in Albemarle county. He was an extensive land speculator. In 1748, he went on a tour of discovery down

you can inform yourself of their intentions. I shall examine all the creeks from the head of Monongahela down to the fort, and in the forks of the river Ohio and New river, or as far as time will allow me between this and Christmas. You may depend upon my losing no time. I will let you know by all opportunities what may happen worthy your notice, and I shall be glad if you will keep me also fully advised.

I think it would be advisable to write to Colonel Armstrong the first opportunity. I understand that he is one of the surveyors, and may have his office in Carlisle for all I know; but I shall be informed soon myself. You may depend upon my keeping the whole a profound secret, and trust the searching out the land to my own care, which shall be done as soon as possible; and when I have completed the whole, I shall wait on you at your own house, where I shall be able to give you a more satisfactory account of what I have transacted.

As to Neale and Company's grant, it was laid on the fork of Monongahela and Youghiogheny, which, if Pennsylvania takes in this region in its charter, will include it at any rate. As to the Ohio Company, you are the best judge yourself what will be done in it, or where it will be laid.

I have a mind to trade some with the Indians,[1] which may be of advantage to me in some respects toward finding out the best land, as the Indians are more obliging to those who trade with them than others; and it would put me on an equal footing with other traders at Fort Pitt who might

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the Holston. In the month of March, 1750, in company with five others, he started upon a trip to explore the country west of the back settlements of Virginia. Before his return, he penetrated far into the present State of Kentucky. His party, in April, erected a small cabin in what is now Knox county—the first one, probably, ever built by an American within the limits of that State. "Walker's settlement" is noted on some of the old maps. He died at "Castle Hill," in 1794. He had been for many years a prominent Virginian.

[1] The Indians who traded, at this date, with the settlers at Fort Pitt and vicinity, were the Senecas, Delawares, and Shawanese; also the Monseys (who were in reality Delawares), and a few Mohicans. All these dwelt upon the Ohio and its tributaries.

want to take an advantage of me if I trade without licenses. If it is not too much trouble for you to procure them for me, if you would do it, it would greatly oblige me.

As to the particulars of what you wrote me, I can not satisfy you better at present than I have; but you may depend upon time and my own industry to comply with everything else as soon as in my power. Excuse any errors that I may have committed. I am, etc.

P. S. There is nothing to be feared from the Maryland back line, as it does not go over the mountain.[1]

No. 3.—CRAWFORD TO WASHINGTON.

SPRING GARDEN,[2] *January* 7, 1769.

SIR:—By Valentine Crawford I received your letter dated November 13th,[3] and the inclosed twenty pounds Pennsylvania money. I wrote you by Mr. Harrison.[4] He told me he gave Mrs. Washington my letter, as you were not at home. At my return from Frederick,[5] over the mountain,

[1] At this period, "the Maryland back line" was a subject of controversy between the provinces of Maryland and Virginia, depending upon the question of the location of the "first fountain of the Potomac;" as the line was defined to be a meridian, extending from that point to the southern boundary line of Pennsylvania. The province of Virginia claimed all the territory west of the head of the *south* branch, while Maryland insisted that her territory extended as far west as the head of the *north* branch. As in neither case would it be beyond "the mountain," Crawford could, with propriety, declare there was "nothing to be feared from" it.

[2] Spring Garden was one of the names by which Crawford designated his home upon the Youghiogheny.

[3] The letter here referred to has not been preserved. Crawford's reply, however, is so full as probably to indicate all its important points.

[4] Lawrence Harrison. His son, William, married Sarah, one of the daughters of Crawford.

[5] By "Frederick" is meant Frederick county, Virginia, the former home of Crawford. His residence was upon Bullskin creek, in what was afterward Berkeley county, Virginia—now Jefferson county, West Virginia.

the surveyor was running land out for such as were ready to pay him. Immediately I got him to run out your land. I have done it as if for myself, taking all the good land, and leaving all that is sorry, only some joining the mill-seat. It came out in locations as other land, but was all run out in one body. The surveyor will be paid for every three hundred acres, notwithstanding he run the whole in one body. He says it is the rule of the office. There are in each survey three hundred and thirty-two and three hundred and thirty-three acres; so I had good measure.

The land you were to have of my brother, John Stephenson,[1] when the surveyor came was located. He will lose all that is good, without he can purchase the man's right. This he intends to do, if he can, but I doubt it, as people from Pennsylvania hold land high.

You mentioned that the lines of the colonies would be extended soon, or, at least, that such a plan was on foot,[2] and that the officers would obtain their lands agreeable to His Majesty's proclamation.[3] I am at a loss where they will lay it off (as the land to the southward of Penn's line[4] is very sorry, except in some spots), unless it is laid off as you, in a letter, before wrote me.

I have not been down on any part of the Little Kanawha,[5]

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[1] A half-brother of Crawford. He had five half-brothers, sons of Richard Stephenson: John, Hugh, Richard, James, and Marcus.

[2] The lines of Virginia were greatly extended after the treaty, in 1768, at Fort Stanwix; in the end, to the Mississippi. At least, such was the extent she claimed. She afterward relinquished her sovereignty over all territory west of the Ohio and Big Sandy, and the Cumberland mountains.

[3] At the commencement of the Seven Years' War, in 1754, Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, to stimulate enlistments, issued a proclamation, granting two hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio to officers and soldiers. This grant was afterward confirmed by the king. As an officer in that war, Washington was entitled to his share of land.

[4] By "Penn's line" is meant the southern boundary line of Pennsylvania, west of the Alleghanies.

[5] The Little Kanawha is a river of West Virginia. It is a tributary of the Ohio, entering that stream on the left, at Parkersburgh, one hundred and ninety miles below Pittsburgh.

but have conversed with numbers that have been from the head to the mouth. They tell me there are no large bodies of good land on it. It is chiefly mountains and broken land, with here and there a very good piece.

In a few days, I intend going up the Monongahela, to run out some land there. The draft I shall bring down with me to your house, about the first or middle of February. I should have gone before, but I was stopped by the road I had to finish. I have found out a piece or two more of good land in Penn's lines, which you may have. I have taken them good for you, if you choose them. I could have taken more if I had thought they would have been lessened, as it is from a half-penny to a penny an acre.

As soon as I return from up the river, I am to go over the Monongahela to look at some land two men have found on a stream called Ten-mile creek;[1] and, if I like the land, you shall have any of it you may want. I shall be better able to satisfy you when I see you. I am, etc.

P. S.—By the commanding officer at Fort Pitt, there is a negro woman sent me who was taken, during the last war,[2] from a place called Draper's Meadows,[3] then the property of one Major Winston.[4] He is since dead. There were twenty-two taken in all from him, but several got away and reached their master again. I understand the colony paid for them; if so, she now belongs to Virginia. If it is not too much trouble for you, I should be obliged to you to inquire and find out the truth of the matter. I wish you to purchase her of the colony for me, provided they will wait a time for the money. It would be doing me a great favor. There are three more, I believe, I can get from the Indians with some trouble. The wench I have, ran away from them, and came to Fort Pitt. I am afraid there are some scheming already to purchase her.

[1] Ten-mile creek empties into the Monongahela on the left, at Millsboro', Washington county, Pennsylvania.

[2] Pontiac's War of 1763–'64.

[3] Afterward Smithfield, Montgomery county, Va., the home of the Preston family.

[4] William Winston, uncle of Patrick Henry.

No. 4.—Crawford to Washington.

Old Town,[1] *October* 13, 1769.

Sir:—The surveyors are to survey your land soon, and will want their cash, which I have not for them. You may send it by Mr. Harrison, sealed up in a letter to me. Half Joes or Pennsylvania money will suit best for them.

I believe no person interferes with you. I shall have the whole run out before the surveyors come on the spot. I have been unwell, or I would have had it done before now. I shall have that land entered[2] and surveyed, and shall join another survey to it, if I can, that you had of my brother. As Mr. Harrison will be up before I shall have it done, you can give me your sentiments on it. I believe I can make about seven hundred acres there, or may be more. As to news, I shall refer you to Mr. Harrison. I am, etc.

No. 5.—Crawford to Washington.

May 5, 1770.

Dear Sir:—Inclosed is a rough draft of your land, and calculated with the allowance of ten per cent. in the hundred.

I did not enter that land for you on Ten-mile creek, as it appears to me, from the new map done by Mr. Sute,[3]

[1] Old Town was situated on the north bank of the north branch of the Potomac river, in Maryland, fourteen miles south-east of the present site of Cumberland, about one and a half miles above the junction of the north and south branches.

[2] The Pennsylvania Land Office was, on the third of April, 1769, opened for the location of lands in that province, west of the Alleghany mountains, below Kittanning.

[3] Philip Sute was among the early settlers in the Redstone (Brownsville) region, in what is now Fayette county, Pennsylvania.

that the Monongahela will be left out when the back line is run at that bend at the mouth of the creek, or, at any rate, where the land lies. I offered to pay the office fees if they would return me the purchase money if the land did not fall in Pennsylvania. They would not agree to return me the money at any rate, but told me, if I did not think it in Pennsylvania, not to enter it, as such precedents would be attended with confusion and trouble to them. Therefore, I thought proper to postpone it till I went up and run a line from Fort Pitt till it intersects the line now run, which will determine the matter without doubt. If it should be in Pennsylvania, then the clerk will send me a warrant, as we have agreed upon. I shall have the other piece at the mouth of the run surveyed as soon as I go out, as the surveyors will be there by that time.

There is no certainty about the quit-rents what they will be; and it is supposed they will open the office upon the former terms; as no land from over the mountain has been entered since the new manner of opening of it; nor will any be fond of doing so, which will oblige them to open on the former terms. The Indian traders' land[1] is to be laid off on the north side of the Little Kanawha, from the mouth to the head, and by the Laurel Hill[2] till it falls in with the Pennsylvania line; and then with the latter till it falls to the head or as far as it goes, and then on a straight line on the west side until it strikes the Ohio, which will leave out a great part of all the land on the west side of the Monongahela to the Ohio from the proprietors' line;

[1] During hostilities with the western Indians in 1763–4, known as Pontiac's War, a number of traders met with serious losses at their hands. At the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in the autumn of 1768, grants of land were made to several of these traders by the tribes there represented. These lands were located between the Kanawha and Monongahela rivers. Titles, however, to be valid, needed confirmation by the Crown.

[2] The Laurel Hill is a mountainous range in the south-western part of Pennsylvania. It extends into West Virginia by the name of the Chestnut Ridge; while the Chestnut Ridge proper, lying to the west of it, after entering the latter State, changes its name to Laurel Hill. The two ranges are not many miles apart.

as, according to the opinion of such as judge the matter, the western bounds will be a crooked line agreeing with the meanders of the Delaware river.[1] The Indian traders have not got their land confirmed to them yet from any account they have had. Captain Trent is still in England waiting to have it settled.[2] I shall do every thing in my power to inform myself in regard to the lands, where they are to be laid off, till I see or hear from you. I am, etc.

P. S.—When you come up,[3] you will see the whole of your tract finished. You can have it all patented in one tract. I spoke to Mr. Tilghman[4] about it, and told him that you wanted to command some part of the river. He agreed that the surveyor should run it out and you pay all under one, and have a patent for the whole in one. Colonel Carlisle has promised me to show you Mr. Sute's map, just completed from the best intelligence—from actual surveys, from reports, or the best accounts he could get.

[1] It was, at one time, claimed by the Penns and others, that the western boundary line of Pennsylvania should be made to meander the same as the Delaware river, from which it was to be run at a distance of five degrees of longitude. Upon old maps, it is seen sometimes marked in that way. This absurd idea, however, was, in the end, given up.

[2] William Trent, a native of Pennsylvania, was early engaged in the Indian trade. He also took an active part in the Seven Years' War; and, during Pontiac's War suffered the loss of a trading-house near Fort Pitt. He was allowed a grant of land by the Indians, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768, along with other Indian traders; these grants he was seeking to have confirmed.

[3] Washington was then contemplating a visit to the Western country to view the land upon the Ohio and its tributaries, which, by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768, had been purchased of the Indians—to the end that he might secure good tracts in that locality for the Virginia officers and soldiers who had served in the French War, and who were entitled, according to rank, to two hundred thousand acres.

[4] James Tilghman, Secretary of the Land Office, at Philadelphia.

No. 6.—Crawford to Washington.

December 6, 1770.

Dear Sir:—Agreeable to your desire, I have bought the Great Meadows[1] from Mr. Harrison, for thirty pistoles, to be paid to Mr. Jacob Hite; and inclosed is an order on you from Mr. Harrison in favor of Mr. Hite, and the bill of sale filled up by Mr. McLain. I also inclose a draft of the land, to be run as you think proper. Any alteration you want done, please to let me know, and I will see it done when Mr. McLain comes up next summer.

I intend to go to Fort Pitt in a day or two. The snow that fell the time you left my house continued on the ground with the help of some more ever since, so there was no looking at the land with the caution you desired.[2] I

[1] The Great Meadows were four miles east of the Laurel Hill, and ten miles east of the present Uniontown, Fayette county, Pennsylvania,—on the National road, forty-two miles from what is now Cumberland, Maryland. Here, in April, 1754, Washington built Fort Necessity, which was surrendered to the French in July following.

[2] Washington left Mount Vernon on the 5th of October, 1770, on his journey to the Ohio river, reaching the home of Crawford on the 13th. On the next day, in his journal, which has been frequently published, he wrote:

—"At Captain Crawford's all day. Went to see a coal-mine not far from his house, on the banks of the river [Youghiogheny]. The coal seemed to be of the very best kind, burning freely, and abundance of it." On the next day he says; "Went to view some land which Captain Crawford had taken up for me near the Youghiogheny, distant about twelve miles [in what is now Fayette county, Pennsylvania; Perryopolis is located upon this land]. This tract, which contains about one thousand six hundred acres, includes some as fine land as ever I saw, and a great deal of rich meadow. It is well watered, and has a valuable mill-seat, except that the stream is rather too slight, and, it is said, not constant more than seven or eight months in the year; but on account of the fall and other conveniences, no place can exceed it. In going to this land, I passed through two other tracts, which Captain Crawford had taken up for my brothers Samuel and John. I intended to have visited the land which Crawford had pro-

shall send you a full account by my brother, who is to be up by Christmas, if I can have the ground clear of snow long enough to have it done; at any rate, I will see it next week. Colonel Croghan is at Fort Pitt still, and I understand is to stay the chief part of the winter.[1] I wish you a merry Christmas. I am, etc.

P. S.—Mr. Hite has an order on you for the same amount. One only is to be paid.

No. 7.—Crawford to Washington.

Spring Garden, *April* 15, 1771.

Sir:—I received yours of March 11th, and I am much surprised at Mr. Brooks' behavior in regard to that land. He never had the least claim or pretensions to the Meadows that I ever heard of. Mr. Harrison made use of the

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cured for Lund Washington this day also, but time falling short I was obliged to postpone it. Night came on before I got back to Crawford's, where I found Colonel [Adam] Stephen." . . . On the 16th he wrote: "At Captain Crawford's till the evening, when I went to Mr. John Stephenson's [Crawford's half-brother], on my way to Pittsburgh, and lodged." . . .

Crawford accompanied Washington down the Ohio to the mouth of the Great Kanawha. After an examination of the land some distance up the latter stream, they returned, reaching Crawford's home on the 24th of November. Washington left for Mount Vernon the next day, the ground being covered with snow; hence the allusion to "the snow that fell," in the above letter.

[1] George Croghan, a native of Ireland, first settled upon the Susquehanna, where, in 1746, he was engaged in the Indian trade. He afterward was agent for Pennsylvania among the Indians upon the Ohio and its tributaries. He erected a fort at the site of the present Shirleysburg, Huntingdon county, Pennsylvania. Early in the French War he was a captain; but, in 1756, he threw up his commission and repaired to Sir William Johnson, who appointed him a deputy Indian agent of the Pennsylvania and Ohio Indians. After Pontiac's War, he lived at his settlement upon the east side of the Alleghany river, four miles above Fort Pitt, where, as Sir William's deputy, he continued very efficient. Here, Washington visited him on the 19th of October, 1770.

name of "Wm. Brooks," expecting that Wm. Brooks, his son-in-law, would do him the favor to give him an assignment at any time; but, as Mr. Harrison has got a permit, there was no occasion for an assignment, or for an order of survey; for any surveyor would have surveyed the land on the permit and returned it into the office, which would have been accepted, while any order of survey that he could have got would not do. Inclosed you have a bond from Mr. Harrison for settling the matter and making good the title. He says if you want it done, it shall be returned in your own name as soon as the survey is completed. He will settle all disputes in regard to it.

There is one William Brooks here who has agreed to sign the bill of sale, which is sufficient; as any man of that name will do as well as he, he having no claim or right more than any other man of that name. Mr. Harrison says it is all he can do at present. Any thing more that is requested he will do if required; and if not, the bargain must be void, and he have his papers again; as he can sell it immediately to several people who will pay no regard to Brooks' claim—looking upon it as worth nothing.

As the bearer, Moses Crawford,[1] is obliged to go off immediately, I shall refrain from giving a full account of my proceedings here for a few days longer; as I shall have another opportunity soon, and then will give you as full an account as I am able. I am, etc.

No. 8.—Crawford to Washington.

April 20, 1771.

Sir:—Agreeable to your request, I went to view Colonel Croghan's land; but before it could be done the line was to be run, which I attended and viewed the whole; but I could not find the quantity of land you wanted, nor one thousand acres such as you would like, or such as I would

[1] Moses Crawford was a son of Valentine Crawford.

have, to be laid off as he wanted me to lay it off. There was some good land on Raccoon creek,[1] along the stream, but it was very hilly off from the creek. The hills are of the poorest sort, all piney, where the bottoms are of any goodness. What land is worth anything is already taken by somebody, whose survey comes within the line we run. But the Colonel is not content with that line, as he thinks it does not include lands enough. I am afraid he has not a proper title to what he is now claiming; but I will avoid giving him any certain answer about the land as long as I can possibly do so. I have found some good tracts of land on the head of Chartier's creek and the head of Raccoon creek. It is good, level, farming land, and good meadow, but not that quantity you wanted. I believe I can procure you a tract, in one body of three thousand acres, which is very good, well watered, and about fifteen or twenty miles from the fort. I have not told him where the land lies, and I am afraid to tell him till he runs the line, for I think if he knew of it he would run it in on purpose to have the selling of it to you; as he prides himself much upon it, and makes it a handle to all bargains he is making with other people.

I have told him I have found some land; and if it comes in his land, or within his line, I will agree with him for it. I have run it out, and have hired some hands to work on it, in order to hold it till I know how to come by a right for it; as it is very good. I think you may have between three and four thousand acres in a body—very good land for farming.

You may depend on my being as cautious as you could wish in every particular concerning the soldier lands; and as soon as I can finish the outlines I shall wait on you, which I hope will be by the first of August. I shall then run out lines going down the river and coming back; as then the stream will be low, and I can measure up the beach. You shall hear from me by all safe opportunities. I am, etc.

[1] Raccoon creek empties into the Ohio on the left, thirty-three miles, by the course of the river, below Pittsburgh.

No. 9.—Crawford to Washington.

Stewart's Crossing,[1] *August* 2, 1771.

Sir:—I have done nothing with Colonel Croghan in regard to the land you want of him as yet, as I could see none of his land in his line now run that will answer, to be laid off as he wants it laid off. I have found some at about fifteen or sixteen miles distance from Fort Pitt, which is very good farming land, and as good meadow land as any. The upland is level, or no more hilly than is necessary to make the ground dry. The tract is like Gist's,[2] and full as good as his and as level, the draft of which I shall show you when I come down. I do not know whether Crosson will take this in his line or not. He is to have a tract laid off by his surveyor for you on Mingo creek, which is good land; but I do not know as yet what quantity there will be, as it is not done, but is to be done, and I am to bring, for your perusal, the draft when I come down. It is to be as large as the good land will admit of any how, in a square,

[1] Stewart's Crossing (frequently written in the plural) was so called from the circumstance of William Stewart having lived near the place in the year 1753 and a part of 1754, when he was driven away by the French. It was Crawford's home, situated on what, at that date, was known as Braddock's road, the place on the Youghiogheny where Braddock crossed on his march against Fort Duquesne (afterward Fort Pitt), in 1755. It was in Augusta county, Virginia, as claimed by that province; subsequently, in the district of West Augusta; and, finally, in Yohogania (not Youghiogheny) county, until 1779, when Virginia relinquished her claim to that section. As claimed by Pennsylvania, it was, at that date, in Bedford (formerly a part of Cumberland); afterward in Westmoreland; and, finally, in Fayette county—where the town of New Haven is now located, opposite Connellsville, forty-three miles from Pittsburgh.

[2] Christopher Gist. He made the first settlement within the province of Pennsylvania west of the Alleghany mountains. This was in 1752. His home was on Braddock's road, not very far south from Stewart's Crossing, on the left side of the Youghiogheny, at what is now known as Mount Braddock, Fayette county, Pennsylvania.

which is the way he will have his land run out. I shall close no bargain with him till I see you, which will be as soon as I can possibly get my business done up the river; but I do not much like running any land in Tygart's Valley,[1] as the people in general are very contentious there, for want of the law being properly established amongst them; but, if possible to be done, I will do it.

I have run out the different tracts of land described in your memorandum, between the Little Kanawha and the Big Kanawha; and that tract above the Captina,[2] or opposite to Pipe creek.[3] It is not large. I have not made out the draft yet, nor shall I do so until I come down to your house. I saw a letter from Mr. Tilghman in regard to Colonel Croghan. He says the latter has no right to any land as yet, nor can not tell whether he ever will have any from the Crown. Croghan claims it from an Indian deed and is making out patents to such as will buy of him; but Mr. Tilghman says in his letter: "I hope persons will ask themselves how they will come by their money again, if, in a few years, his title should be found not good."

I am to view his land on Mingo creek again before I come down; and if it should not be his land, it may be you can make it your own hereafter. I have nothing material now, further, to let you know, that I can think of. I am, etc.

P. S.—Mingo creek empties into the Monongahela above the mouth of Youghiogheny, and the land is near the head. It is a small creek.

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[1] So called from David Tygart, who, with Robert Foyle, was the first occupant of West Virginia, west of the mountains; his settlement was the site of the present town of Beverly, Randolph county; it was destroyed by the savages in November, 1753.

[2] Captina creek empties into the Ohio on the right, twenty-one miles below the present city of Wheeling, West Virginia.

[3] Pipe creek empties into the Ohio on the right, between six and seven miles above the mouth of Captina.

No. 10.—Crawford to James Tilghman.[1]

Stewart's Crossings, *August* 9, 1771.

Sir:—I understand by Captain John Haden, the bearer of this, that there is an agreement entered into by a number of the inhabitants of Monongahela and Redstone. They have entered into a bond or article of agreement to join and keep off all officers of the law, under a penalty of fifty [pounds], to be forfeited by the party refusing to join against all officers whatsoever.

I understand this was set on foot by a set of people who have made a breach of the law by driving out men from their homes; for which there was a King's warrant issued against them, together with a notion propagated by Colonel Croghan that those posts would not fall into Pennsylvania. He told me it was the opinion of some of the best judges that the province line would not extend by considerable so far; as it would be settled at forty-eight miles to a degree of longitude, which was the distance of a degree of longitude allowed at the time the charter was granted to Mr. Penn. He has since told these people that they had no right to obey any precept issued from Pennsylvania.

He has run a line from the mouth of Raccoon [creek] up the Ohio to Fort Pitt, and thence up Monongahela, above Pigeon creek; thence across till it strikes Raccoon creek ten miles up it; and says he has one more grant of 100,000 acres to lay off in a parallel with that. Many surveys he has cut to pieces and sold to sundry people, that have been returned to your office, some of which are not above three or four miles from Fort Pitt. He has done so with one of mine and many others. It is a great pity there

[1] This letter has been published. See Penn. Arch. IV., pp. 424, 425. It is inserted in this connection (although it does not belong to the Washington-Crawford correspondence), as being germane to the general subject about which Crawford and Washington were corresponding.

is not a stop put to such proceedings, as it will be attended with very bad consequences.

I am informed there is a large number of signers already to the paper; when I see it, I will give you a more distinct account. I am, etc.

P. S.—I shall be down this fall and pay off to the land office for the different lands I am concerned in or have undertaken to transact.

No. 11.—Washington to Crawford.

Mount Vernon, *December* 6, 1771.

Dear Sir:—The inclosed I write to you in behalf of the whole officers and soldiers, and beg of you to be attentive to it, as I think our interest is deeply concerned in the event of your dispatch.

I believe, from what I have lately heard, that there is no doubt now of the charter government[1] taking place on the Ohio; but upon what terms, or how the lands will be granted to the people, I have not been able to learn. I should be glad, however, if you would endeavor to keep the tract you surveyed for me till such time as we can tell where, and how, to apply for rights; or, if you did anything with McMahan[2] on my account, I will abide by that.

As soon as the tract at the Great Meadows is enlarged, I should be glad to have the surveys returned to the office, and to get a plat of it myself, as I am determined to take out a patent for it immediately.

I can not hear of any reserve in favor of Colonel Croghan; for which reason I do not care to say anything

[1] By "the charter government" is here to be understood the government of Virginia. Washington's idea was, that its jurisdiction would soon be extended to the Ohio, with power to grant lands, etc.; which, as yet, had not been the case.

[2] Dr. James McMechen (whose name is found frequently written McMahan or McMahon) was an early settler upon the Ohio.

more to him on the subject of a purchase until matters are upon a more permanent footing, since no disadvantage can follow to him, after leaving him at liberty in my last letter to sell the tract he made me an offer of, to anybody he pleased. I should be glad, however, to hear from you how he goes on in his sales, and what is said and thought of his claim; in short, what chance there appears to be of his getting it; for I suppose his right to the lands he claims must either be confirmed or rejected by this time, and known at Pittsburgh before now. I should be glad to hear from you by the first opportunity in respect to these several matters. In the meanwhile, I remain, with my best wishes to Mrs. Crawford, yourself and family, dear sir, your assured friend and servant.

No. 12.—Crawford to Washington.

Stewart's Crossing, *March* 15, 1772.

Sir:—I received yours of the 6th of December. I should have had your land run out at the Great Meadows, but Mr. McLain is not come up from his father's as yet, but is to be up in a few days, and I will have it done and send you a draft of the whole by the first opportunity. I would have had it done as soon as I came up, but he could not do it before he went to Philadelphia. As to Croghan's claim to the land near Fort Pitt: he claims and is selling any land that any person will buy of him inside or outside of his line, and offers his bond to make a title for it and have no money till then, at ten pounds sterling per hundred acres. He has his surveyors running out land now constantly; and he has taken and run out land for himself ten miles clear of his line.

I saw his order to his surveyors, and they were to run out thirty thousand acres of land—one thousand in a tract; and if the people will not purchase of him upon those

terms, he will let them go to the first that will. People do not know what to do. Some, in order to prevent disputes, enter the lands with him; and then they have six pounds per tract to pay his surveyor, which occasions much trouble. When it will end I do not know.

There is no certainty yet of the charter government taking place as was proposed when you were at Fort Pitt, or Colonel Croghan's grant being confirmed. Some dispute its being ever confirmed. I hear no talk of the traders having any land on the Ohio. There is some talk of a government to be on the Ohio, at the mouth.

I shall do my endeavors to keep your land I took up for you; but I am afraid I shall be hard put to it. I have, however, built four good cabins on it, and cleared about an acre at each, fit for the plow, which I think will hold it till there is some way of securing it.

I have seen McMahon's land he had to sell, but it was not such as it was recommended to me; and, besides, there is a dispute about part of it. A man has built a cabin on the best of it; but, if it had not been so, it would not have suited you: it is too hilly and not rich. There will not be a possibility of taking up such a quantity as you want near Fort Pitt, as there are such numbers of people out now looking for land, and one taking another's land from him. As soon as a man's back is turned another is on his land. The man that is strong and able to make others afraid of him seems to have the best chance as times go now. Probably I may fall in with such a body of land on some of the small creeks down the Ohio; if so, I will take it for you, and as soon as I can I will send you a draft and description of the place. I am, etc.

No. 13.—Crawford to Washington.

May 1, 1772.

Sir:—I have still kept your land, but with much difficulty. I turned six men off on the first of March who had built a house and inclosed about two or three acres, for which I paid them five pounds. I have built houses on each part—four in all, and cleared some land and hired a man to stay and keep possession till I return, as nothing will do now but possession, and hardly that. I do not find that I could get the quantity of land you spoke to me for, without I could stay all summer and be on the spot; as people crowd out in such numbers the like was never seen. I believe they have settled as low as Wheeling[1] and some lower—as far down as Grave creek.[2] I have heard that the charter government is confirmed, but on what terms the land will be [granted] I do not know.

Colonel Croghan is still surveying land and selling to anybody that will buy; but I can hear nothing of any confirmation of his grant by any person but himself. When the surveyor comes up, Valentine Crawford will attend the survey of your place at the Great Meadows and have the draft sent to you by the first opportunity. I am, etc.

[1] Crawford's meaning was, "as low as Wheeling creek." This stream enters the Ohio on the left, at a distance of ninety-three miles, by the river's course, below Pittsburgh. Its mouth is the site of the present city of Wheeling, West Virginia.

[2] Grave creek empties into the Ohio on the left, in West Virginia, twelve miles below Wheeling.

No. 14.—Crawford to Washington.

December 3, 1772.

Sir:—I wrote you by Valentine Crawford that I was indebted to Messrs. Jacob Witte & Son a sum of money, which I have not been able to pay, and I am afraid I shall be sued for it. If you can answer the sum in the inclosed order and charge it in my wages for surveying the land of the officers,[1] it would much oblige your most humble servant.

No. 15.[2]—Washington to Lord Dunmore.[3]

Mount Vernon, *April* 13, 1773.

My Lord:—In obedience to your Lordship's request, I do myself the honor to inform you, that, by letters this day received from Dr. Cooper of King's College in New York, I find it will be about the first of next month before I shall set off for that place, and that it will perhaps be the middle of June before I return. Harvest then coming on, and seldom ending till after the middle of July, I could almost wish to see it accomplished; but if the delay in doing it is attended with any kind of inconvenience to your Lordship, I will, at all events, be ready by the first of July to accompany you through any and every part of the western country which you may think proper to visit.

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[1] From this it will be seen that Crawford had been down the Ohio, surveying land for the officers and soldiers, during the summer.

[2] This letter is inserted in this connection although it does not belong to the Washington-Crawford correspondence, it having an important bearing upon the one that follows. It has been previously published. See Sparks' Washington, vol. II, pp. 373, 374.

[3] John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore, one of the representative peers of Scotland, was, at that date, Governor of Virginia.

I beg the favor of your Lordship to inform me, therefore, as nearly as you can, of the precise time you will do me the honor of calling here, that I may get ready accordingly, and give notice of it to Mr. Crawford (if your Lordship purposes to take the route of Pittsburgh,) whom I took the liberty of recommending as a good woods-man, and well acquainted with the lands in that quarter, that he may be disengaged when we get to his house, which is directly on that communication. I am persuaded that such a person will be found very necessary in an excursion of this sort, from his superior knowledge of the country, and of the inhabitants, who are thinly scattered over it.[1]

No person can be better acquainted with the equipage and simple conveniences necessary in an undertaking of this sort than your Lordship, and, therefore, it would be impertinent in me to mention them; but if your Lordship should find it convenient to have anything provided in this part of the country, and will please to honor me with your commands, they shall be punctually obeyed. As, also, if your Lordship chooses to have an Indian engaged, I will write to Colonel Croghan, Deputy Indian Agent, who lives near Pittsburgh, to have one provided.

The design of my journey to New York is to take my son-in-law, Mr. Custis, to King's College. If your Lordship, therefore, has any letters or commands, either to that place or Philadelphia, I shall think myself honored in being the bearer of them, as well as benefited by means of the introduction.

I am, with the greatest respect, your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant.

[1] Washington's visit to the home of Crawford two years and a half previous, and his trip thence down the Ohio to the Great Kanawha and return in company with him, enabled him to speak with confidence as to his (Crawford's) superior knowledge of the western country and its inhabitants.

No. 16.[1]—Washington to Crawford.

Mount Vernon, *September* 25, 1773.

Dear Sir:—I have heard (the truth of which, if you saw Lord Dunmore in his way to or from Pittsburgh,[2] you possibly are better acquainted with than I am) that his Lordship will grant patents for lands lying below the Scioto, to the officers and soldiers who claim under the proclamation of October, 1763.[3] If so, I think no time should be lost in having them surveyed, lest some new revolution should happen in our political system. I have, therefore, by this conveyance, written to Captain Bullitt,[4] to desire he will have ten thousand acres surveyed for me; five thousand of which I am entitled to in my own right; the other five thousand, by purchase from a captain and lieutenant.

I have desired him to get this quantity of land in one tract, if to be had of the first quality; if not, then in two, or even in three, agreeably to the several rights under which I hold, rather than survey bad land for me, or even that which is middling. I have also desired him to get it

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[1] This letter has been published. See Sparks' Washington, vol. ii, pp. 375–378.

[2] Lord Dunmore visited Pittsburgh as he and Washington had contemplated; but the latter, as will presently be seen, was unable to accompany him. The governor's journey was made during the summer of this year. On his way, he tarried awhile at the home of Crawford.

[3] This report, which had reached the ears of Washington, was an erroneous one.

[4] Thomas Bullitt, a prominent Virginian and land surveyor, descended the Ohio in 1773 to survey lands in Kentucky. He had no authority from Governor Dunmore to make surveys in that region; notwithstanding which he ran out several tracts. Other parties who descended the Ohio at the same time went also without any permit from his lordship. The latter, while at Fort Pitt, wrote Bullitt advising "him to return again immediately." He knew nothing whatever of his surveys.

as near the mouth of the Scioto,[1] that is, to the western bounds of the new colony,[2] as may be; but for the sake of better lands, I would go quite down to the Falls,[3] or even below; meaning thereby to get richer and wider bottoms, as it is my desire to have my lands run out upon the banks of the Ohio. If you should go down the river this fall, in order to look out your own quantity under the proclamation, I shall be much obliged to you for your assistance to Captain Bullitt in getting these ten thousand acres for me, of the most valuable land you can, and I will endeavor to make you ample amends for your trouble; but I by no means wish or desire you to go down on my account, unless you find it expedient on your own. Of this, I have written to Captain Bullitt, under cover to you, desiring, if you should be with him, that he will ask your assistance.

As I have understood that Captain Thompson[4] (by what authority I know not) has been surveying a good deal of land for the Pennsylvania officers, and that Dr. Connolly[5] has a promise from our Governor of two thousand acres at the Falls, I have desired Captain Bullitt by no means to involve me in disputes with any person who has an equal claim to land with myself, under the proclamation of 1763.

[1] The Scioto, one of the largest of the northern tributaries of the Ohio, enters the latter stream at Portsmouth, three hundred and sixty miles below Pittsburgh.

[2] "Walpole's Grant"—a large tract of land, solicited by Thomas Walpole and others of the Crown, lying upon the Ohio above the Scioto, but upon the other side of the river. This "grant" was never perfected; it would have included the whole of Northwestern Virginia.

[3] The rapids in the Ohio, at what is now Louisville, Kentucky.

[4] William Thompson, a prominent Pennsylvanian. Some of his surveys were made on the north fork of Licking, Kentucky.

[5] John Connolly, a native of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, was bred a physician. He was a nephew of Colonel Croghan, and "a very sensible, intelligent man," who previously had traveled over a good deal of the country watered by the Ohio and its tributaries. He soon after, as the agent of Dunmore, played an important part in affairs at Pittsburgh, in attempting to maintain the possession of Fort Pitt and its dependencies for the colony of Virginia, and to put the militia and other Virginia laws in force—the governor claiming the country as a part of that province.

As to the pretensions of other people, it is not very essential; as I am told that the Governor has declared he will grant patents to none but the officers and soldiers who are comprehended within the proclamation aforementioned; but even of these claims, if I could get lands equally as good, as convenient, and as valuable in every respect, elsewhere, I should choose to steer clear.

Old David Wilper, who was an officer in our regiment, and has been with Bullitt running out land for himself and others, tells me that they have already discovered four salt springs in that country; three of which Captain Thompson has included within some surveys he has made; and the other, an exceedingly valuable one, upon the River Kentucky, is in some kind of dispute. I wish I could establish one of my surveys there; I would immediately turn it to an extensive public benefit, as well as private advantage. However, as four are already discovered, it is more than probable there are many others; and if you could come at the knowledge of them by means of the Indians, or otherwise, I would join you in taking them up in the name or names of some persons who have a right under the proclamation, and whose right we can be sure of buying, as it seems there is no other method of having lands granted; but this should be done with a good deal of circumspection and caution, till patents are obtained.

I did not choose to forego the opportunity of writing to you by the gentlemen who are going to divide their land at the mouth of the great Kenhawa, though I could wish to have delayed it till I could hear from the Governor, to whom I have written, to know certainly whether he will grant patents for the land which Captain Bullitt is surveying, that one may proceed with safety; as, also, whether a discretionary power, which I had given Mr. Wood[1] to select my land in West Florida, under an information, even from his Lordship himself, that lands could not be had here, would be any bar to my surveying on the Ohio; especially

[1] James Wood, a prominent Virginian. By the proclamation of 1763, three new colonies were established in America—Quebec (Can-

as I have heard since Mr. Wood's departure that all the lands on that part of the Mississippi, to which he was restricted by me, are already engaged by the emigrants who have resorted to that country. Should I, however, receive any discouraging account from his Lordship on these heads, I shall embrace the first opportunity that offers afterwards to acquaint you with it.

By Mr. Leet[1] I informed you of the unhappy cause which prevented my going out this fall.[2] But I hope nothing will prevent my seeing you in that country in the spring. The precise time, as yet, it is not in my power to fix; but I should be glad if you would let me know how soon it may be attended with safety, ease, and comfort, after which I will fix upon a time to be at your house.[3]

I am, in the meanwhile, with sincere good wishes for you, Mrs. Crawford, and family, your friend, etc.

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ada), East Florida, and West Florida. Wood, upon proposing to visit West Florida, in March, 1773, was requested by Washington to have ten thousand acres surveyed for him in that country, if he could find such lands as he thought would answer his purpose; as he "had never yet been able to designate the lands to which" he was "entitled under his Majesty's proclamation of October, 1773."

[1] Daniel Leet, a native of New Jersey, but an early resident of that part of the western country which afterward became Washington county, Pennsylvania. He was a surveyor, and was frequently employed as such by Washington. He was born Nov. 6, 1748; died, June 18, 1830, in Alleghany county, Pennsylvania.

[2] The "unhappy cause" was the death of Miss Custis, the daughter of Mrs. Washington by her former marriage.

[3] Washington never again visited Crawford. The Revolution was at hand; in which contest the latter perished miserably by torture, at the stake, on the 11th June, 1782.

No. 17.—Washington to Crawford.

Mount Vernon, *September* 25, 1773.

Dear Sir:—Since writing the inclosed,[1] I have further understood that the Governor, from some displeasure at Captain Bullitt's conduct (whether for surveying *at all* or for *other persons*, besides those claiming under the proclamation, or whether for a speech and engagement which he entered into with the Indians), has ordered him *in*.[2] If the Governor's displeasure proceeded from the last-mentioned cause, I should be glad (in case of your going down the river in pursuit of your own land) if you could obtain a license from him to survey my quantity of ten thousand acres, as I will endeavor to get him to authenticate it, in order that I may proceed to patenting of it, if the Governor thinks himself at liberty to grant one.

I have written to Bullitt to this effect, and though I know I gave him mortal offense, by interesting myself in procuring the commission[3] I did for you, yet I have some expectation of his complying with my request. If he does comply, you must know from him what surveys he has made, as also what entries are lodged, in order that you may steer clear of them; and I would recommend it to you to use dispatch, for depend upon it, if it be once known that the Governor will grant patents for these lands, the officers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Carolina, etc., will flock there in shoals, and every valuable spot will be taken up contiguous to the river, on which the lands, unless it be where there are some peculiar properties, will always be most valuable. I am, etc.

[1] The previous letter (No. 16), it will be observed, has the same date.

[2] The speech here referred to was made by Bullitt to the Shawanese upon the Scioto, at old Chillicothe, on his way down to Kentucky.

[3] Meaning Crawford's commission as surveyor for the Ohio Company in place of Christopher Gist, deceased, issued by the College of William and Mary.

No. 18.—Crawford to Washington.

Spring Garden, *November* 12, 1773.

Sir:—I received yours of July 27th, September 25th and 26th,[1] in one of which you blame me for not discovering those lands nearly opposite to the other surveys on the Kanawha. The two bottoms below the mouth of the Porketahio I did see, but the land on that stream I did not see, but sent the men I had hired, to search and see what sort of land it was, whilst I was running the other side; but they deceived me and told me there was no land worth taking. They then went on the same and made some small improvement with the intention of holding it, but they have since left it. I have surveyed some of the land. Those two bottoms below the Dorkattalin, when I surveyed the rest, seemed to be much overflowed, but not much more than other bottoms were at that time; nor does any of the Kanawha bottoms seem to have any signs of overflowing more than common since that time; and, from all accounts, they never were so within the recollection of any one acquainted with the country. Some large trees were in the river last spring; but none by many feet as high as that.

As to your chance in your lots of land, I think it much the best on the whole river, from one end of the survey to the other, and those gentlemen seemed a good deal chagrined on viewing yours, after their lots were laid off; as their fronts on the river were not over a mile and a half the most of them, running back almost five miles; while most of your surveys have all bottom, as also Doctor Craik's land.[2] None in that country is so good as your land and

[1] Crawford mistakes the date—both of Washington's letters (Nos. 16 and 17) are of the date of September 25.

[2] Dr. James Craik. He was the companion in arms of Washington at the battles of the Great Meadows and Monongahela, and accompanied him down the Ohio, in his trip of 1770.

his. You each have the advantage of cabins, I believe, on every five hundred acres of your land on the Ohio. Several of those persons who had improved those lands came to me this fall, and on seeing the patent, quit and went in search of land for themselves. I endeavored to lease them some of your land on the Ohio, but never could get any one to offer to take any upon any terms—either of yours or that gentleman's land.

The reason these people sat down upon your land was that Colonel Croghan told them the officers and soldiers could never hold one foot of the land; and he further told them that I had [no] orders from the Governor to survey any land on the Ohio; that it was only a scheme between you and myself. The only chance you have to get land settled, is to get some of your people near where you live to settle upon it some day or other; or bring up some hired men, set them to work, and clear some land, and then you may rent it for something. I believe that will be the surest way to improve your land and with the least expense. Several persons are waiting for your land to relapse, who intend to fall on it immediately thereafter. Should you come in the spring, please to let me know in advance, and also what number of hands, and I will provide you with everything in my power, such as boats to carry your people down.

I wrote you relating to the upper survey on the Great Kanawha. I think you have not apprehended me in what I wanted. There is the full quantity of land of two hundred thousand acres, and six hundred over and above.[1]

In my last letter to you I wrote you that Lord Dunmore had promised me that in case the new government[2] did not take place before he got home, he would patent these lands for me if I would send him the draft of the land I surveyed on the mouth of the Little Kanawha.[3] Now, as

[1] The meaning of the writer at this point is not clear.

[2] Walpole's grant.

[3] The idea here is that Lord Dunmore would patent the lands surveyed at the mouth of the Little Kanawha.

my claim as an officer can not include the whole, if you will join as much of your officer's claim as will take all of the survey, you may depend I will make any equal division you may propose. I told Lord Dunmore the true state of the matter.

Your letters came to my hand not until the 15th, and then I was engaged with the gentlemen who were going down to divide their land. I spoke to Captain Bullitt, and he has promised me a district to survey, and that he will wait on you on his way down the country. He has made a survey he intends for you; some he made for himself. He seems to want to court your favor much at this time. He has several choice tracts, which he says you shall have; but as you will see him yourself, he can inform you more fully.

I hope to have the pleasure of your company down the river this spring. I will go with you as far down as you please. There will be enough persons with us to prevent any Indians doing any hurt. Should you come, come soon as you can, and I will be ready. I am, etc.

No. 19.—Crawford to Washington.

[*No date.*[1]]

Sir:—I should be glad to know how matters were settled at Fredericksburgh, at the last meeting of the officers in regard to our lands under his Majesty's proclamation. You may depend on my taking every step in my power to finish the soldiers' land this fall and winter. As soon as any can be finished, it shall be sent to you by the hand of some person who shall bring it to you immediately. I waited on Colonel Mason on my return home, and have agreed with him to survey the Ohio land as soon as the land for the soldiers is done.

[1] It was written in the fall of 1773.

I am indebted to Mr. Hite for some goods had last spring of him before I went down the river, and I am obliged to give him an order on you for some money, which I hope you will pay as soon as you get it in your hands. Any news you may hear toward the new government that may concern me, I should be glad to hear as soon as convenient. Your lands on Chartier's are safe yet; but how long they may continue so, I do not know, as the people that were going to settle on them at the time we come down were driven off, but attempted to return in the spring.

I shall settle some man on them if possible, and hope by that means to secure them. Everything in my power shall be done. They must be stronger than I and my party are if they take them. I have agreed to pay twenty pounds to Mr. Stephenson's estate for you, which I should be obliged to you for. I am, etc.

No. 20.—Crawford to Washington.

Spring Garden, *December* 29, 1773.

Sir:—Some people, about ten or twelve in number, have gone on your Chartier's land within these few days; and there is no getting them off, except by force of arms. They are encouraged by Major Ward, brother to Colonel Croghan, who claims the land, and says he has a grant of it from the Crown. He will indemnify them, if they will move in any house where no person is living. He also offers the land for sale, warranting the purchaser a lawful title. He further adds that Colonel Croghan says you and I have used his brother very ill, in pretending to buy his land and did not, but went and took the best of it, and would not agree to pay him. That was the reason offered for selling the land to any person who should choose to buy.

I think such proceedings as these, if not stopped, will soon bring the whole country to ruin. Those men have not bought of him, but took your land, and say they will keep it. I could drive them away, but they will come back im-

mediately—as soon as my back is turned. The man I put on the land, they have driven away, and built a house so close to his that he can not get in at the door.

Inclosed you have a faint draft, made by guess, of the way his land has been claimed and run, and the way his deed from the Indians is: one in the fork of the two rivers, and one at the mouth of Sewickly[1] on Youghiogheny. The grant he makes so much noise about is the one on the Ohio and Raccoon creek, first run by Captain William Thompson. The limits of his grant, as I have found since, by a copy of the whole three from Philadelphia, are as follows:

The line run by Mr. Campbell to the mouth of Peter's creek[2] is over and above his grant; much more, the line run by Mr. Hooper to the Little Redstone, which is nearly four times as much as his Indian deed calls for. What pretention he can have for the other land I am at a loss to know. Your land is two miles and better from the utmost limits of his land, as you will see by the way it is laid down on the stream called Miller's Run.[3]

When Thompson run the land and made out the draft and delivered it to him, Colonel Croghan said it was not run right. Then he employed Mr. Campbell and told him that the river must be twisted up to the mouth of Peter's creek, as that was the bounds of his lands. When Mr. Campbell had run the line as marked, and delivered the draft to him, Colonel Croghan said he had not run the land right; he should have allowed him ten degrees for variation of the compass. Then he got Mr. Hooper and run this last line, as you see marked. He then employed Mr. Pentecost[4] to

[1] Sewickly creek, a tributary of the Youghiogheny on the right, empties into the parent stream about half way between Pittsburgh and what was then the home of Crawford.

[2] Peters' creek falls into the Monongahela on the left, in what is now Allegheny county, Pennsylvania.

[3] Miller's Run empties into Chartier's creek on the west, two miles below Canonsburg, Washington county, Pennsylvania.

[4] Dorsey Pentecost, an early resident of the territory which afterward became Washington county, Pennsylvania.

run thirty thousand acres on the head of Chartier's creek and Cross creek.[1] This still left you out; but since then, Major Ward takes you and myself, and Lund Washington in, and says Colonel Croghan has a grant from the Crown for the land, and has given him that part, as low as the mouth of Wheeling.[2] He has had a surveyor laying off tracts of land till they have been stopped by the people. How he will proceed now I know not.

I can recover the land by law of this Province, or, at least, a great part of it; as it is as well improved as any in the country, where no person lives; but this will be costly and troublesome. I shall await your answer before I proceed; as probably you may fall on some other way; as some late accounts from Philadelphia say the new proprietary government has fallen through, and that the government is to remain in the hands of Lord Dunmore; which I hope will put us on a better footing than we are likely to be under the present state of matters.

When Lord Dunmore was at my house he gave me the promise he would intercede for a district of surveying on the Ohio for me; and now he will have it in his power, if he pleases to give me one, and I have written to him on that head. I should be glad if you would help me in that; as it is, or will be, in your power so to do should matters fall in that channel. Should I get anything of the sort, I should be glad to have one adjoining me, as it would be near me and suit me much the best. Under the present circumstances, what lies between me and the surveys I have made, will not be much; all the land worth anything is already surveyed. But if you can do anything for me, pray do; as it will then be in my power to be of service to you, and myself too, and our friends.

You probably may get your land on Chartier's creek patented; that would put an end to further trouble; but this I will leave to your own judgment. I am, etc.

[1] Cross creek empties into the Ohio on the left, in West Virginia, seventy-five miles by the river, below Pittsburgh.

[2] The site of the present city of Wheeling, West Virginia.

No. 21.—Crawford to Washington.

Spring Garden, *January* 10, 1774.

Dear Sir:—Since I wrote you, Doctor Connolly called on me on his way from Williamsburgh, and tells me that it is now without doubt that the new government is fallen through, and that Lord Dunmore is to take charge of so much of this quarter as falls out of Pennsylvania.[1] He further told me that you had applied for my land as an officer, and could not obtain it without a certificate, or my being present; which puts me at a loss, in some measure, how to take it, especially as you have not written on that head. Lord Dunmore promised me most faithfully, that when I sent him the draft of the land on the Little Kanawha that he would patent it for me; and in my letter to you I mentioned it, but have not heard anything from you relating to it. I understand, by the Doctor, that the whole is to be laid out in counties; if so, I hope I may have a chance for a county to survey, as Lord Dunmore promised me to serve me that way if it should be in his power.

Should the colony of Virginia take place on the west of Pennsylvania, I should think you might get a patent for your land on Miller's run, and that would put an end to any further dispute.

I should be glad to hear the opinion of the Governor about Colonel Croghan's grant, if possible; and if he is allowed it, on what footing it will be. Doctor Connolly says that Lord Dunmore told him Colonel Crogan's grant was good, which is much disputed here, as there have been so many attempts made by him to deceive the people. I should be very glad to hear in what light his grant stands amongst

[1] The return of Connolly was the opening of Pandora's box—the beginning, in earnest, of the boundary troubles at Fort Pitt and vicinity, which continued to agitate the western country with more or less severity for the next ten years. Immediately, acting under Dunmore's orders, he began to enforce jurisdiction over the disputed territory.

the gentlemen of Virginia. As to the bounds of his grant, it stands as I have shown you in my letter—what he has a right to by his Indian deed, and what he has taken over and above that.

Doctor Connolly also informs me that you and Colonel Basset intend coming up in the spring, in order to proceed down the river. If so, let me know as soon as convenient, and what number of hands you will take, so that I can provide for you accordingly. If I can make a canoe without any fault in its draw, I believe I can make one that will take you and Colonel Basset and all your stock of provisions; and you shall have one for your people and their provisions; then you will not be incumbered. Your vessel shall be light and run well, as I have the best method of building them, and have lately made some of the best canoes on the run. There is a large company going down in the spring. I am, etc.

No. 22.—Crawford to Washington.

Spring Garden, *January* 15, 1774.

Dear Sir:—Inclosed is the account of the expenses of last summer's trip in surveying the soldiers' land. Two small items are omitted in the former accounts—four bags which rotted out the first trip in the wet weather, and the kegs which were let go to people, at different times, coming up for provisions, and made use of going down to put flour and salt in. Should you have settled with the company for the whole, never mind them; you may in that case strike them out of the account. I do not remember whether I mentioned Colonel Muse's account to you in my other letters. He drew an order to me on you for the expense of dividing the land; and I know he intends charging you more, but I do not think he ought to be paid any additional amount, as he has expended double as much as there was any occasion for.

I have drawn an order on you in favor of John Hite for fifty pounds, which pay when it suits you. I have written him that he must wait your time, as you had not got your affairs settled.[1] I could not draw immediately on you for cash, as I did not know that you had received any part of the money. I should be glad if you can help my brother, Valentine Crawford, to any money, or anything he wants, without disobliging yourself. And anything you want in the spring that I can help you to, it shall be ready for you, if you will let me know by the first opportunity. I intend public house-keeping, and I am prepared for it now; as I can live no longer without that or ruining myself—such numbers constantly travel the road and nobody keeping anything for horses but myself. Some days now, if I had rum, I could make three pounds. I have sent for some by Valentine Crawford, and can supply you with what you want as cheap as you can bring it here, if you carry it yourself. Your favor done me now, among others, shall be thankfully repaid by your most humble servant.

No. 23.[2]—Crawford to John Penn.[3]

Westmoreland County [Pa.], *April* 8, 1774.

Sir:—As some very extraordinary occurrences have lately happened in this county, it is necessary to write an account of them to you. That which I now give, is at the

[1] Reference is here made to Washington's affairs with the officers and soldiers as to their bounty lands. The whole matter seems to have been largely under his guidance.

[2] This letter has been published (see Col. Rec. Pa. x, pp. 165–167). No other statement extant gives, perhaps, so satisfactory an account of the "extraordinary occurrences attending the first efforts of Dunmore to extend the jurisdiction of Virginia over the disputed territory." Crawford, at this date, was President of the Court in Westmoreland. He was the first to hold that office.

[3] John Penn was then Governor of Pennsylvania.

request and with the approbation of all the magistrates that are at present attending the court.[1] A few weeks ago Mr. Connolly went to Stanton and was sworn in as a justice of the peace for Augusta county, in which it is pretended that the country about Pittsburgh is included. He had, before this, brought with him, from Williamsburg, commissions of the peace for several gentlemen in this part of the province, but none of them, I believe, have been accepted. A number of new militia officers have been lately appointed by Lord Dunmore; several musters of the militia have been held, and much confusion has been occasioned by them.

I am informed that the militia is composed of men without character and without fortune, and who would be equally averse to the regular administration of justice under the colony of Virginia as they are to that under the province of Pennsylvania. The disturbances which they have produced at Pittsburgh, have been continually alarming to the inhabitants. Mr. Connolly is constantly surrounded with a body of armed men. He boasts the countenance of the Governor of Virginia, and forcibly obstructs the execution of legal process, whether from the court or from single magistrates. A deputy sheriff has come from Augusta county, and I am told has writs in his hands against [2]Cap-

[1] During the year 1770, Crawford was appointed one of the magistrates for the county of Cumberland, within the limits of which was his home, as claimed by Pennsylvania. Upon the erection of Bedford county the next year out of a portion of Cumberland, his commission was renewed for that county; finally, when Westmoreland, in 1773, was erected into a county from Bedford, his office was continued; and, being the first named, he became by courtesy and usage Presiding Judge of its Courts, which office he held at date of this letter.

[2] Arthur St. Clair. He was born in Thurso, Caithness, Scotland, in 1734, and died at Greensburg, Pennsylvania, on the thirty-first day of August, 1818. He studied medicine with the celebrated John Hunter, in London; but afterward entered the army, having purchased an ensigncy in the 60th Foot, third of May, 1757. He came in Boscawen's fleet to America, in 1758; and served under Amherst at the taking of Louisburg. He was made a lieutenant on the seventeenth of April, 1759, and distinguished himself under Wolfe at Quebec. On the four-

tain St. Clair and the sheriff, for the arrest and confinement of Mr. Connolly.[1]

The sheriff was last week arrested at Pittsburgh for serving a writ on one of the inhabitants there, but was, after some time, discharged.[2] On Monday last, one of Connolly's people grossly insulted Mr. McKay,[3] and was confined by him in order to be sent to jail; the rest of the party hearing of it, immediately came to Mr. McKay's house and proceeded to the most violent outrages. Mrs. McKay was wounded in the arm with a cutlass; the magistrates, and those who came to their assistance, were treated with much abuse, and the prisoner was rescued.

Some days before the meeting of the court, a report was spread that the militia officers at the head of their several companies would come to Mr. Hanna's,[4] use the Court ill, and interrupt the administration of justice. On Wednesday, while the Court was adjourned, they came to the court-house and paraded before it; sentinels were placed at the

teenth day of May, 1760, he married, at Boston, Phebe Bayard. He resigned his commission on the sixteenth of April, 1762, and, immediately after the close of Pontiac's War, in 1764, settled in the Ligonier valley, Pennsylvania, where he erected mills, and also a fine residence. He was appointed, in 1770, surveyor, of Cumberland, also a justice of the Court of Quarter Sessions and of the Court of Common Pleas, and a member of the proprietary council. In 1771, he was a justice of Bedford county; also Recorder, Clerk of the Orphan's Court, and Prothonotary. Upon the erection of Westmoreland from Bedford, in 1773, he continued to hold the same offices for that county. He was, therefore, one of Crawford's associates upon the Bench, at the date of the above letter. St. Clair afterward held many offices of great responsibility, both civil and military, and died distinguished for his successes, but more so for his misfortunes and failures.

[1] Connolly had been arrested by St. Clair, and confined on his owning himself the author of certain advertisements requiring the people to meet as militia.

[2] Pittsburgh was then, according to the Pennsylvania claim, within the limits of Westmoreland county; that county including, at that time, the whole of the province west of the Laurel Hill.

[3] Æneas McKay, one of the magistrates at that date of Westmoreland. He resided at Pittsburgh.

[4] Hanna's-town, the county-town, at that period, of Westmoreland county.

door, and Mr. Connolly went into the house. One of the magistrates was hindered, by the militia, from going into it till permission was first obtained from their commander. Mr. Connolly sent a message to the magistrates, informing them that he wanted to communicate something to them, and would wait on them for that purpose.

They received him in a private room. He read to them the inclosed paper,[1] together with a copy of a letter to you, which Lord Dunmore had transmitted to him, inclosed in a letter to himself, which was written in the same angry and undignified style. The magistrates gave the inclosed answer[2] to what he read; and he soon afterwards departed

[1] Dr. Connolly's address to the magistrates of Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, was as follows:

"Gentlemen: I am come here to be the occasion of no disturbances, but to prevent them. As I am countenanced by Government, whatever you may say or conceive, some of the Justices of this Bench are the cause of this appearance, and not me. I have done this to prevent myself from being illegally taken to Philadelphia. My orders from the Government of Virginia, not being explicit, but claiming the country about Pittsburgh, I have raised the militia to support the civil authority of that colony vested in me.

"I am come here to free myself from a promise made to Captain Proctor, but have not conceived myself amenable to this court, by any authority from Pennsylvania, upon which account I can not apprehend that you have any right to remain here as justices of the peace constituting a court under that province; but in order to prevent confusion, I agree that you may continue to act in that capacity, in all such matters as may be submitted to your determination by the acquiescence of the people, until I may have instructions to the contrary from Virginia, or until his Majesty's pleasure shall be further known on this subject. J. Connolly."

[2] The answer of the magistrates of Westmoreland county to Dr. Connolly's address was as follows:

"The jurisdiction of the Court and officers of the county of Westmoreland rests on the legislative authority of the province of Pennsylvania, confirmed by his Majesty in Council. That jurisdiction has been regularly exercised, and the Court and officers will continue to exercise it in the same regular manner. It is far from their intention to occasion or foment disturbances, and they apprehend that no such intentions can with propriety be inferred from any part of their conduct; on the contrary, they wish, and will do all in their power, to

with his men. Their number was about one hundred and eighty or two hundred. On their return to Pittsburgh, some of them seized Mr. Elliott, of the Bullock Pen, and threatened to put him in the stocks for something which they deemed an affront offered to their commander. Since their return, a certain Edward Thompson and a young man who keeps store for Mr. Spear, have been arrested by them; and Mr. Connolly, who, in person, seized the young man, would not allow him time even to lock up the store. In other parts of the county, particularly those adjoining the river Monongahela, the magistrates have been frequently insulted in the most indecent and violent manner, and are apprehensive that, unless they are speedily and vigorously supported by the Government, it will become both fruitless and dangerous for them to proceed in the execution of their offices. They presume not to point out the measures proper for settling the present disturbances, but beg leave to recommend the fixing a temporary line with the utmost expedition, as one step, which, in all probability, will contribute very much toward producing that effect.

For further particulars concerning the situation of this country, I refer you to Colonel Wilson, who is kind enough to go on the present occasion to Philadelphia. I am, etc.

No. 24.—Crawford to Washington.

May 8, 1774.

Sir:—Inclosed you have the drafts of the Round Bottom and your Chartier's land, finished agreeable to Mr. Lewis's

preserve the public tranquillity. In order to contribute to this very salutary purpose, they give information that every step will be taken on the part of the province of Pennsylvania to accommodate any differences that have arisen between it and the colony of Virginia, by fixing a temporary line between them."

direction.[1] I should have sent them from Stanton, but Mr. Lewis had set out for Cheat river before I got there, and I wanted him to see the returns before I sent them to you. I was still disappointed, as before I could return back again Mr. Lewis started for home, and I understand he will be in Williamsburgh soon. If the returns do not answer, you can have them changed. If you should not choose to enter those names in the return now made for the Round Bottom, I have sent you a blank to fill up, which you may do yourself.

I suppose by this time various reports have reached you. I have given myself some trouble to acquaint myself with the truth of matters; but there are some doubts remaining as to certain facts; however, I will give you the best account I can.

The surveyors that went down the Kanawha,[2] as report

[1] Thomas Lewis, surveyor of Augusta county, Virginia. During the year 1774, Crawford surveyed and returned to his office 4,153 acres for different persons.

[2] [From the *Maryland Gazette*, March 10, 1774.]

"FINCASTLE COUNTY, VIRGINIA, *January* 27, 1774.

"Notice is hereby given to the gentlemen, officers, and soldiers, who claim land under his Majesty's proclamation of the 7th of October, 1763, who have obtained warrants from his Excellency the right honorable the Earl of Dunmore, directed to the surveyor of Fincastle county, and intend to locate their land on or near the Ohio, below the mouth of the Great Kanawha or New river, that several assistant surveyors will attend at the mouth of the New river on Thursday, the 14th of April next, to survey, for such only as have or may obtain his lordship's warrant for that purpose.

"I would therefore request that the claimants or their agents will be very punctual in meeting at the time and place above mentioned, properly provided with chain-carriers and other necessaries, to proceed on the business without delay. Several gentlemen acquainted with that part of the country are of the opinion that to prevent insults from strolling parties of Indians, there ought to be at least fifty men on the river below the Great Kanawha to attend to the business as the gentlemen present may judge most proper until it is done, or the season prevent them from surveying any more. Should the gentlemen concerned be of the same opinion, they will, doubtless, furnish that or any less number they may believe necessary. It is hoped the officers or their agents who may have land surveyed, particularly such as do not reside

goes, were stopped by the Shawanese Indians,[1] upon which some of the white people attacked some Indians and killed several, took thirty horse-loads of skins near the mouth of Scioto; on which news, and expecting an Indian war, Mr. Cresap[2] and some other people fell on some other Indians at the mouth of Pipe creek, killed three, and scalped them. Daniel Greathouse and some others fell on some at the mouth of Yellow creek[3] and killed and scalped ten, and took one child about two months old, which is now at my house. I have taken the child from a woman that it had been given to.[4] Our inhabitants are much alarmed, many hundreds having gone over the mountain, and the whole country evacuated as far as the Monongahela; and many on this side of the river are gone over the mountain. In short, a war is every moment expected. We have a council now with the Indians. What will be the event I do not know.[5]

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in the colonies, will be careful to send the surveying fee when the certificates are demanded. "WILLIAM PRESTON,

"*Surveyor of Fincastle County.*"

[1] This first overt act was one of the proximate causes only which brought on, in a short time thereafter, a bloody conflict—a contest known in history as Lord Dunmore's War. A remote cause was the general antagonism of the red and white races, now being brought continually nearer to each other, as the tide of emigration broke through the Alleghanies and rolled down in a continuous flow upon the valley of the Ohio.

[2] Michael Cresap, a native of Maryland, and a resident of Old Town, which was, at that date, generally known as "Cresap's," and is so marked on some of the old maps;—"Mr. Cresap and some other people" were looking out for themselves locations of land upon the Ohio at the time.

[3] Yellow creek, a tributary of the Ohio, flowing into that stream on the right, fifty-five miles by course of the river below Pittsburgh. The words of Crawford should have been, "opposite the mouth of Yellow creek."

[4] This occurrence took place on the 30th of April, 1774. It was then that Logan, the Mingo chief, lost his relatives—mother, brother, and sister; not, however, by "Colonel Cresap," as, in his immortal speech, he pathetically charges, but at the hands of the party of Daniel Greathouse, as stated by Crawford.

[5] This council was held at Pittsburgh, at the advice of Mr. Croghan. On the side of the Indians were several chiefs of the Delawares and the

I am now setting out for Fort Pitt at the head of one hundred men. Many others are to meet me there and at Wheeling, where we shall wait the motions of the Indians, and shall act accordingly.[1] We are in great want of some proper person to direct us, who may have command,—Mr. Connolly, who now commands, having incurred the displeasure of the people. He is unable to take command for two reasons: one is, the contradiction between us and the Pennsylvanians; and the other that he carries matters too much in a military way, and is not able to go through with it. I have some hopes that we may still have matters settled with the Indians upon a method properly adopted for that purpose.

It seems that they say they have not been paid anything for their land—I mean the Shawanese and Delawares. The Six Nations say they have no right to any of the money, the land not being their property. I do not mean to say anything against Mr. Connolly's conduct, only he can not carry things on as he could wish, as he is not well acquainted with the nature of the people he has to deal with. Fair means would do better, and he could get anything he wanted more readily.

In case of a war, much dependence from this place lies on you, Sir, as being well acquainted with our circumstances. Should matters be settled with the Indians soon, I suppose you will proceed on with the improvement of your lands; if not, you will discharge your people, and of

Deputy of the Six Nations (Gayasutha), with eight others of the Seneca tribe. These gave the Pennsylvanians the strongest assurances that they wished for nothing more than to continue in peace with Pennsylvania. But the wrath of Logan, the Mingo chief, was kindled against the Virginians, and could not be assuaged with words. He must "glut his vengeance upon the Long Knives."

[1] Pennsylvania was exceedingly solicitous for peace; but Virginia determined to punish the Mingoes and Shawanese. Now that Crawford's ardent love of adventure, and sympathy with his native province got the better of his Pennsylvania loyalty, he accepted a captain's commission from Dunmore, and, at the head of one hundred men, proceeded down the Ohio, to watch "the motions of the Indians"—the Mingoes and Shawnese.

course your servants will be sold. In that case, I should be glad to take two of them, if you are willing. In a few days you will be better advised, and then you will be more able to determine on matters. I am, &c.

No. 25.—Crawford to Washington.

Spring Garden, *June* 8, 1774.

Dear Sir:—I received your letter by Mr. Christy[1] dated 27th of May; and I am sorry you seem to be in confusion as well as us, as that renders our case more deplorable. Saturday last we had six persons killed on Dunkard's creek,[2] about ten miles from the mouth of Cheat river on the west side of Monongahela, and there are three missing. On Sunday, a man who left a party is supposed to be killed, as he went off to hunt some horses, and five guns were heard go off. The horse he rode away returned to the house where the party was. They set out in search of enemies; found the man's coat, and saw a number of tracks, but could not find the man.[3] Our whole country is in forts, what is left; but the major part is gone over the mountain. With much ado I have prevailed on about a dozen of families to join me in building a fort over against my house, which has been accomplished with much difficulty and a considerable expense to me. Valentine Crawford has built another at the same rate.

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[1] William Christy, then a resident of Pittsburgh; soon after, along with Simon Girty, one of Connolly's lieutenants.

[2] Dunkard creek, a tributary of the Monongahela, which enters that river in Greene county, Pennsylvania.

[3] This was the work of a party headed by Logan, the Mingo. It was here, with a small number of Mingoes and Shawanese from Wakatomica, an Indian town upon the Muskingum, near the present Dresden, Muskingum county, Ohio, that the irate savage commenced his work of death.

It was with great difficulty any could be prevailed upon to stay, such was the panic that seized the people. If something is not done, I am much afraid the whole country must fall into the hands of the enemy. The Delawares seem to be on our side as yet; but on them there is not much dependence.[1] I believe an Indian war is unavoidable. I have been on a scouting party as low as Grave creek since Mr. Johnston went down to Williamsburg, but could see no signs of any parties. However, as soon as I returned, a party crossed the river that did that mischief. Fort Pitt is blockaded,[2] and the inhabitants of the town are about picketing it in. They have about one hundred men fit for arms in town and fort, which I do not think sufficient to protect those places.

I shall take the opportunity of the first scouting party down the river to comply with your request in regard to the Round Bottom, and send you a plat and another to Mr. Lewis. Then I hope no door will be left open for disappointment. As to the variation of the compass, it has been taken by Mr. Leet and Mr. McLain from Mr. Dixon and Mason's calculations;[3] and they find it to be 4° 10′ westerly. Their work, I believe, may be depended upon, as they are both able surveyors.

I am at a loss what to advise you or Valentine Crawford

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[1] The Delawares proved steadfast in their professions of peace both to the Pennsylvanians and Virginians. They were not drawn into the war with the Shawanese and Mingoes. Their principal village was upon what is now known as the Tuscarawas river, in the eastern part of the State of Ohio, while the Shawanese dwelt upon the Scioto.

[2] This being "blockaded" was wholly imaginary. The Shawanese and Mingoes recognized Pittsburgh as being in Pennsylvania, and they were not making war on the people of that province; besides, the neutral Delawares stood in the way of war parties going so far up the Ohio.

[3] In August, 1763, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, of London, England, were selected by Lord Baltimore and the Penns to complete the boundary line between the provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania. They were both eminent surveyors. The line they run has received their names—Mason and Dixon's line; figuratively, the dividing line between the Northern and Southern States of the Union.

to do in regard to your people. At times I am afraid they will be very troublesome. I am afraid, should that be the case, little would be done for your advantage. In your letter to Valentine Crawford, you wrote about a mistake in laying a new county. I apprehended by Lord Dunmore, there was a new county intended on the west of the mountain. I am, etc.

P. S.—We are in great want of guns and ammunition.

No. 26.—Crawford to Washington.

Stewart's Crossing, *September* 20, 1774.

Sir:—It has not been in my power, since your letter came to my hand requesting me to run the land over again at the Round Bottom, to do so. I am now going to start upon our new expedition, and shall take my instruments with me and comply with your request in each particular as far as in my power.[1]

I have, I believe, as much land lying on the Little Kanawha as will make up the quantity you want, that I intended to lay your grants on; but if you want it, you can have it, and I will try to get other land for that purpose.[2] It lies about fifteen or twenty miles up that river, on the lower side, and is all ready run out in tracts of about three thousand and some odd acres; others about twenty-five hundred acres; all well marked and bounded. As soon as I return I will send you the draft made out; but I have not

[1] This time Crawford, who had been commissioned a major by Dunmore, was at the head of five hundred men belonging to the regiment of Colonel Adam Stephen. It was one of the divisions of Lord Dunmore's Virginia army, and was moving down the Ohio to attack the Shawanese upon the Scioto, if they did not comply with his Lordship's terms.

[2] The meaning here, though vague, seems to be that Crawford had surveyed on the Little Kanawha, for himself, as much land as Washington wanted to lay some warrants on, which the latter could have.

time to have it done now. I do not hear anything of Cresap's claim now, as no person lives upon it or any of your land since the Indians broke out. I spoke to Lord Dunmore in regard to it, and in what manner your property is claimed and how these people took possession of the land. He says it can make no odds, as you have the first claim, and a patent besides; so that I believe it is out of the power of any person to prejudice him against you.

I this day am to set out with the first division for the mouth of Hockhocking,[1] and there to erect a post on your Bottom, where the whole of the troops are to rendezvous.[2] From there they are to proceed to the Shawanese towns, if the Indians do not comply with his Lordship's terms; which are, to give six hostages for their good behavior. This, I believe, they will do. Lord Dunmore has had a conference with them; but I do not know what is done as yet; but they will meet him at ———, where I believe we shall settle all matters.

Your other matters here, Mr. Young will inform you how they are settled. Valentine Crawford says some person has been endeavoring to prejudice you against him about your business in his care. As far as I know, or believe, he has done all that he could do for you, and has been at much risk and expense; but you will be better able to judge when you see his return.

Lord Dunmore has orders from home, by the last mail, to take charge of all the New Purchase, and to execute the laws of Virginia, until his Majesty's pleasure is further known.[3] I am, etc.

[1] The Hockhocking enters the Ohio river on the right, in the present State of Ohio, two hundred and three miles by the course of the latter stream below Pittsburgh.

[2] Crawford with one division and Lord Dunmore with another rendezvoused opposite the mouth of the Hockhocking upon Washington's land. The army then crossed the river to the Indian side, and erected a stockade, which was called Fort Gower.

[3] The New Purchase here spoken of was the territory purchased of the Indians at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768. What Lord Dunmore was to take charge of included all outside the purchase made by the proprietaries of Pennsylvania. The "new government" upon the

No. 27.—Crawford to Washington.

Stewart's Crossing, *November* 14, 1774.

Sir:—I yesterday returned from our late expedition against the Shawanese, and I think we may with propriety say we have had great success; as we have made them sensible of their villainy and weakness, and, I hope, made peace with them on such a footing as will be lasting, if we make them adhere to the terms of the agreement, which are as follows:

First, they have to give up all the prisoners taken ever by them in war with white people; also negroes and all the horses stolen or taken by them since the last war. And further, no Indian for the future is to hunt on the east side of the Ohio, nor any white man on the west side; as that seems to have been the cause of some of the disturbance between our people and them. As a guarantee that they will perform their part of the agreement, they have given up four chief men, to be kept as hostages, who are to be relieved yearly, or as they may choose.[1] The Shawanese have complied with the

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Ohio proved a myth; although contrary intelligence, such as the following, had been frequently published:

"New York, *July* 17, 1773.

"When the last advices came away from England, the establishment of the new province on the Ohio was on the eve of taking place; it is to be called Vandalia, and the only thing then remaining to be done was the proprietors giving security to the government for the payment of the civil establishment, estimated at about three thousand pounds."—*Rind's (Va.) Gaz.*, Aug. 5, 1773.

"We are informed that Lord Dartmouth has nominated George Mercer, Esq., to be Governor of the new colony on the Ohio, which should be called Pittsylvania."—*Dunlap's (Pa.) Packet, April* 18, 1774, under the head of London news of January 25, 1774.

[1]Nowhere else, it is believed, are the terms of the agreement between Lord Dunmore and the Shawanese to be found—at least so full as the above. This compact was entered into at what was then called Camp Charlotte, in what is now Pickaway county, Ohio, whither Lord Dunmore had marched his army from Fort Gower. The Shawanese villages were in the immediate vicinity.

terms, but the Mingoes did not like the conditions, and had a mind to deceive us;[1] but Lord Dunmore discovered their intentions, which were to slip off while we were settling matters with the Shawanese. The Mingoes intended to go to the Lakes and take their prisoners with them and their horses which they had stolen.[2]

Lord Dunmore ordered myself with two hundred and forty men to set out in the night. We were to march to a town about forty miles distant from our camp, up the Scioto, where we understood the whole of the Mingoes were to rendezvous upon the following day, in order to pursue their journey. This intelligence came by John Montour,[3] son of Captain Montour, whom you formerly knew.

Because of the number of Indians in our camp we marched out of it under pretense of going to Hockhocking[4] for more provisions. Few knew of our setting off anyhow, and none knew where we were going to until the next day. Our march was performed with as much speed as possible. We arrived at a town called the Salt-Lick Town[5] the ensuing night, and at daybreak we got around it with one-half our force, and the remainder were sent to

[1] Whether Logan, their chief, was satisfied or not, he acquiesced in the conditions imposed by Lord Dunmore. This is evident from his celebrated speech, which gives in substance what the proud but disconsolate Mingo desired should be transmitted to Dunmore.

[2] By the phrase "to the Lakes," is meant Lake Erie; that is, to the Cuyahoga river, which empties into that lake at what is now the city of Cleveland, Ohio.

[3] John Montour, son of Andrew Montour, a half-blood Indian, was a man of information and education, but a great savage. His father, whose Indian name was Sattelihu, was the oldest son of Madame Montour, a French-Canadian woman, and Roland Montour, a Seneca brave. Andrew, who was known to Washington, was a captain of a company of Indians in the English service in the Old French War, and rose to be a major.

[4] This refers to Fort Gower, at the mouth of the Hockhocking, where a supply of provisions had been left under guard.

[5] This village was sometimes called Seekonk, or Seekunk, a corruption of *kseek-he-oong*, "a place of salt." It was within the limits of what is now Franklin county, Ohio.

a small village half a mile distant. Unfortunately one of our men was discovered by an Indian who lay out from the town some distance by a log which the man was creeping up to. This obliged the man to kill the Indian. This happened before daylight, which did us much damage, as the chief part of the Indians made their escape in the dark; but we got fourteen prisoners, and killed six of the enemy, wounding several more. We got all their baggage and horses, ten of their guns, and 200 [two] white prisoners. The plunder sold for four hundred pounds sterling, besides what was returned to a Mohawk Indian that was there. The whole of the Mingoes were ready to start, and were to have set out the morning we attacked them.[1]

Lord Dunmore has eleven prisoners, and has returned the rest to the nation. The residue are to be returned upon compliance with his Lordship's demand. For other particulars, I refer you to Major Connolly's letter.

I have run your land at the Round Bottom again and will send you a new draft of it by Valentine Crawford, who is to be at your house in a few days, at or before Christmas. I would send it now, but the bearer can not wait as he is on his journey. I have drafts of land on the Little Kanawha. I shall send them to you and leave you at your own choice to do as you like.

One favor I would ask of you, if it suits. When those negroes of Mercer's are sold (and they are to be sold on a credit of twelve months), I would be glad to purchase a boy and girl about fourteen or fifteen years old each, or older, if such are sold; though I would not have you put yourself to any trouble more for me than suits you.[2]

[1] The destruction of the Salt-Lick Town, by Crawford, was the only actual fighting done by that part of the army which was under the command of Dunmore in person. The other division, headed by Colonel Andrew Lewis, had descended the Great Kanawha to the Ohio, where the Virginians fought, on the tenth of October, the sanguinary battle of Point Pleasant, opposed principally by the Shawanese and Mingoes, and were victorious. This fact hastened, on the part of the Indians, their negotiations with Dunmore.

[2] Crawford, like Washington, was a slave-owner. At his death, in 1782, he was possessed of several slaves. In that part of the trans-Alle-

I spoke to Lord Dunmore about your land at Chartier's and the Round Bottom; and it happened that Mr. Cresap was present when we spoke of it. Cresap was urging his claim and I was walking by. He wanted it run for him according to a warrant he had purchased. I then told his Lordship the nature of your claim before Cresap's face; upon which he said nothing more at that time, but wanted me to survey it for him also, and return it. I told him I could not at any rate do such a thing, as I had surveyed it for you.

We have built you a house on your land opposite the mouth of Hockhocking and cleared about eight acres, cutting off all the small timber. My brother Valentine Crawford says if you go on improving your land next summer, he would still do it for you as usual. He has had the misfortune to lose his son Moses. He died with the bilious fever. I am, etc.

No. 28.—Crawford to Washington.

February 7, 1775.

Sir:—Your letter by Mr. Cleveland was safely delivered to me; but I did not get the letter you mentioned by Mr. Willis till yesterday. I was out surveying when Mr. Cleveland came over the mountain, and he set off for home as soon as I came home, and matters were settled. I have a memorandum of what is wanting for your people down the river, and I shall have it ready against the time they come over the mountain.

I would have sent down your plats by Mr. Cleveland, but he could not wait till they could be finished. However, Valentine Crawford is coming to Williamsburg, and then you shall have them sent to you. He will be down in a

ghany country where Crawford lived, which was finally confirmed to Pennsylvania, no slaves were enumerated after the year 1800.

few days, which will, I hope, suit you as well, as he is coming, and will call at Mount Vernon on his way down.

I am at a loss how to return you thanks for your generous present. All that I can do at any time shall always be done. If I can go down the river when you come, I will. And if you will but let me know what you may want got ready, it shall be done. I have a neat canoe that will suit to run down with; or you may go by land, as there is a road cut to Hockhocking. I shall write you more fully by Valentine Crawford, as Mr. Cleveland is in great haste to go to you, as he wants to be up again as soon as possible. I wish you all happiness. I am, etc.

No. 29.—Crawford to Washington.

Stewart's Crossings, *March* 6, 1775.

Dear Sir:—Yours by Dr. Connolly's man, dated February 24th, is received. I am sorry for your inconveniency in regard to your carrying on your improvements on your land, as you seem to have bad luck. Any service I can render you shall be done with cheerfulness. Mr. Cleveland told me he bought enough of provisions for him and the hands employed as were wanting. Axes, hoes, and such tools, I shall see provided for you; and as I think Valentine Crawford will be with you before my son,[1] you and he can agree on what will be wanting.

You seem to be at a loss for some one to help out with your servants. I could not help you to a better hand than my son, who has come down for that purpose to assist your people out. He is up to traveling, and may be of some service in hastening their march out. I have instructed him to be steady, and to attend to any orders you shall think proper to give him, until he arrives here: then I shall see

[1] John Crawford, an only son.

them set out from here myself, and see that they are fitted out with what they may want as far as in my power.[1] . . . Your place is very near the center of the country now, but when the country comes to be more settled, then your Chartier's land will be near the center of the settlement; but that will be a matter to be settled when the line is determined between the two provinces; till then, I do not think it will be worth while to do anything about it.

Inclosed you have two plats which you must fix warrants to yourself and the dates also of the warrants. The land on the river which I mentioned to you, two men are disputing with me about. They are living on the land, and intend to give me some trouble about it. In your letter you seem unwilling to enter into any dispute. If I can have the matter settled so as to suit you, I will; and if not, I will lay it on land that will suit you; as I know of some that has no person living on it, or that has but mere trifling improvements, that can be easily settled. The land in the two plats is very good. It is on the Little Kanawha. It is as good as you could wish. Your other plat shall be sent to you by the first opportunity. I could not get it run out now. I am, etc.

No. 30.[2]—Crawford to Washington.

Williamsburgh, *September* 20, 1776.

Sir:—I should have been glad to have the honor of being with you at New York, but I am doubtful we shall be involved in an Indian war to the westward, as the Shawanese and Delawares seem in doubt; and from the last ac-

[1] A few words in the manuscript are, at this point, of uncertain meaning, and have been omitted. They have reference, seemingly, to the location of a county-town.

[2] This letter has been previously published. See Amer. Arch., Fifth Series, Vol. II., p. 404. It differs somewhat from the original.

counts from Fort Pitt had not met our people (Doctor Walker and the Commissioners) who were sent to treat with them from this Government.[1] I should have come to New York with those regiments ordered there, but the regiment I belong to is ordered to this place.[2] If a war with the westerly Indians happen, I am to go there. I, this spring, before I came from over the mountain, called at Simpson's[3]

[1] At an early period of the Revolution, Congress perceived the importance of securing the friendship, or, at least, the neutrality, of the Western Indians. Commissioners were, therefore, appointed to hold a treaty with them at Fort Pitt, consisting of Dr. Thomas Walker (a biographical sketch of whom has previously been given), John Harvey, John Montgomery, and Jasper Yeates. They met at Pittsburgh, in July, 1776, but were unable to get together a sufficient number of the representatives of different tribes to hold a treaty until the following October. There then assembled of the Six Nations, Delawares (including Monseys), Mohicans, and Shawanese, six hundred and forty-four. British influence at Detroit kept aloof the Ottawas, Wyandots, Chippewas, and Mingoes. The last mentioned had already commenced depredations from their principal village, Pluggy's-town, at or near what is now Delaware, Delaware county, Ohio. The Indians who assembled at the treaty gave the strongest assurance that they would remain neutral in the conflict between the Colonies and the mother country; but this neutrality, in the end, when British influence proved too powerful to be resisted, was broken up, and the confederate tribes became the active allies of England.

[2] The regiment commanded by Crawford, at this date, was the Seventh Virginia, Colonel William Dangerfield's. The latter having resigned his commission, Crawford was promoted from lieutenant-colonel of the Fifth Virginia, to fill the vacancy. The regiments ordered to New York were the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Virginia; Crawford remaining at Williamsburgh with the Seventh. He arrived there from Gloucester on the nineteenth of September.

[3] The place here mentioned as "Simpson's," is now Perryopolis, Fayette county, Pennsylvania, about three-quarters of a mile from the Youghiogheny river, opposite Layton's station, on the Pittsburgh and Connellsville railroad. The ground upon which this town stands was the tract of sixteen hundred acres secured to Washington by Crawford, and mentioned in the journal of the former as having been visited by him in 1770. It was afterward purchased of Washington by Louis Seares, who sold the tract to Thomas Hursey. The latter, in connection with Thomas E. Burns, laid out Perryopolis upon the land; the first lot being sold in the spring of 1814. The mill here, which Crawford saw "go for the first time of its running," in the spring of 1776,

to see your mill go for the first time of its running; and can assure you I think it the best mill I ever saw anywhere, although I think one of a less value would have done as well.

If you remember, you saw some rocks at the mill-seat. These are as fine mill-stone grit as any in America. The mill-wright told me the stones he got for your mill there were equal to English burr. Your land on Chartier's creek is well cultivated, ready to your hand; the men on it thinking you have no patent for it, or if you have that you will lease the land on reasonable terms.

At our last Convention,[1] I mentioned the state of lands and the state of the claimants in general; and, amongst other circumstances, mentioned the expense you had been at in having [made] the first improvements on that land, and then laying a warrant on them, and, notwithstanding, those persons would take it at any rate; upon which an ordinance passed that all equitable claims should take place.

Some, I understand, have since been trying to sell their rights of your land; but I have had an advertisement printed and sent up, forewarning any person to purchase those lands setting forth your title.

I have laid the balance of your warrant on some land on the river, that I think will suit; but I have not got it run out to mind, as there is some dispute, and I believe I shall buy them out if I can reasonably. Excuse the length of this letter. I shall only add that I wish you to enjoy life, health, and overcome all enemies; and I should be happy to see you once more enjoy yourself in pleasure at Mount Vernon. I am, etc.

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was thoroughly repaired in the summer of 1859, by George Anderson. The tradition that Washington superintended, in person, the laying of the stone of its cellar, is, of course, without foundation in fact.

[1] "At our last convention;" that is, "At our last Virginia convention," etc.

No. 31.—Crawford to Washington.

Fredericktown, Maryland, *February* 12, 1777.

Sir:—I am sorry to break in upon your hours that ought to rest you from the many fatigues you have to undergo in that important task you have undertaken in defense of our liberties; but necessity obliges me under my present difficulties. I should have been with you, Sir, before now, but for the following reasons:

There is great probability of an Indian war, for many evident reasons given by the Indians through the course of last summer. They have killed many of our people on the frontiers; and since the last treaty at Fort Pitt one thing of consequence has happened: the people of Kentucky petitioned the Assembly of Virginia for four hundred and fifty pounds of powder to be sent them, which was put into the charge of some men to be taken there. On the way, the men went ashore, below the mouth of Scioto, and were fired on, and five out of seven killed. Two made their escape to the mouth of Kanawha. All the ammunition fell into their hands.[1] Many reasons we have to expect a war this spring. The chief of the lower settlements upon the Ohio, has moved off; and should both the regiments[2] now be moved away it will greatly distress the people, as the

[1] At a general meeting at Harrodsburg, two agents were chosen to negotiate with the Virginia Assembly, for the efficient protection and general good of the new settlements of Kentucky. This was on the 6th June, 1776. Five hundred pounds of powder were procured from the Council of that State and taken from Pittsburgh down the Ohio and secreted near Limestone, now Maysville. Late in December, a party under Colonel John Todd was sent for the powder, but when near the Blue Licks was attacked and defeated by Indians. Only one of the settlers was killed, and the powder was afterward brought safely to Harrodsburg.

[2] One was the 13th Virginia (usually known, at the time, as the West Augusta regiment), commanded by Crawford; the other was Wood's regiment.

last raised by myself was expected to be a guard for them if there was an Indian war. By the Governor of Virginia, I was appointed to command that regiment, at the request of the people.

The conditions were that the soldiers were enlisted during the war; and if an Indian war should come on this spring, they were to be continued there, as their interest was on the spot; but if there should be no Indian war in that quarter, then they were to go wherever called. On these conditions many cheerfully enlisted. The regiment, I believe, by this time, is nearly made up, as five hundred and odd were made up before I came away, and the officers were recruiting very fast; but should they be ordered away before they get blankets and other necessaries, I do not see how they are to be moved; besides, the inhabitants will be in great fear under the present circumstances. Many men have already been taken from that region, so that, if that regiment should march away, it will leave few or none to defend the country. There are no arms, as the chief part of the first men[1] were armed there, which has left the place very bare; but let me be ordered any where and I will go if possible.

I suppose by this time you may have heard of all my misfortunes. The loss of Hugh Stephenson[2] and Valentine Crawford, who died the 7th of last month at Bullskin[3] without any will, is very hard on me, as the affairs of the latter and mine are so blended together that no man can settle them but myself; and should I be cut off before they are settled it would ruin his children and mine. If I can have some little time to administer and settle the estate, I can then appoint a man to act for me, and then I am ready to obey your commands.

[1] Crawford has here reference to the men raised by him in the fall of 1775, in the vicinity of his home, which were mustered into the service.

[2] Hugh Stephenson—one of Crawford's half-brothers—died the previous October.

[3] In what is now Fayette county, Pennsylvania. It was so called from the creek upon which Crawford had lived in Frederick county, Virginia—now Jefferson county, West Virginia.

By the death of Valentine Crawford, the whole management of Colonel Hugh Stephenson's estate falls on me; as he was the only one that administered on his estate. It now lies on me; and nothing is done yet in either estate, and both going to waste. I am now going to the Congress to see how my regiment is to be armed, and to get necessaries. I expect to return immediately over the mountain. Should you have any orders there, you may write by next express who is to see me. Anything I can do you may command me. Excuse haste, as the express is now waiting. That you may ever be fortunate is the daily wish and prayer of your most humble and obedient servant.

No. 32.—Crawford to the President of Congress.

Fort Pitt, 22*d April*, 1777.

Honorable Sir:—I have received orders to join his Excellency General Washington in the Jerseys with the battalion now under my command, which orders I would willingly have obeyed, had not a council of war, held at this place (proceedings of which were transmitted to Congress by express), resolved that I should remain here till further orders. I am sorry to find the accounts therein contained are likely to prove but too true, and from the late depredations and murders which were committed by the Indians at different places in this neighborhood it appears to me as if a general irruption was intended. On the 6th and 7th instant, they killed and scalped one man at Raccoon creek, about twenty-five miles from this place; at Machmore's plantation, about forty-five miles down the Ohio, they killed and scalped one man and burnt a woman and her four children; at Wheeling, they killed and scalped one man, the body of whom was much mangled with tomahawks and other instruments suitable for their barbarity; at Dunkard's creek, one of the west branches of the Mo-

nongahela river, they killed and scalped one man and a woman, and took three children; and at each of the above places they burned houses, killed cattle, hogs, etc.[1]

I have taken all possible means for the protection of this country as the nature of my circumstances would afford. I am at a great loss for arms; two-thirds of the battalion[2] have none. Had I been at this post when the accounts of the above cruelties came here, I would have transmitted them immediately to you; but being busily employed in putting the battalion in proper stations for the frontiers, this, together with the bad state of my health, prevented my getting here sooner than the 18th instant; and finding that no authentic accounts had been transmitted to Congress, think it my duty to inform you of the above facts, and that I only await further directions; as I have received no marching orders dated since the council held at this place resolved that I should wait till further orders.

I am, etc.[3]

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[1] "In consequence of the before-mentioned intelligence and depredations [of the savages], a council of war was held at this place [Pittsburgh] this day [24th March, 1777], in which it was determined that it would be most advisable for Col. Crawford's battalion [13th Virginia —"West Augusta"—regiment] and two companies of Col. Wood's battalion, at Fort Pitt and Wheeling, not to march till further orders; and that one hundred men should be immediately sent to Kittanning, and twenty-five men to attack [occupy] the following places: Logstown, Holliday's Cove, and Cox's."—*Pa. Packet*, 8th. Apr., 1777.

[2] The 13th Virginia regiment.

[3] This and the following letter, although not directed to Washington, are published in this connection as valuable links in the chain of events transpiring in the West at their respective dates.

No. 33.—Crawford to Hand.[1]

January 4, 1778.

Dear General:—Yours, by Captain Harrison, came safe to hand, and I am sorry I could not wait on you sooner; but I have got the itch, and I am now curing for it. I shall be down toward the last of the week.

Any plan you may judge most expedient to carry into execution, I shall do everything in my power to assist you in.[2] The badness of the road and weather I believe will prevent the ladies from visiting Fort Pitt at this time. I shall, if I can, bring down the hounds with me.

I am, etc.

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[1] Brigadier-General Edward Hand was, at this date, in command of the Western Department, headquarters at Fort Pitt.

[2] This was in reply to a letter written by Hand, on the 28th of the previous month, suggesting an expedition against Cuyahoga, which finally resulted in the inglorious "Squaw Campaign." Hand marched in February, 1778, from Fort Pitt; terminating his mortifying exploit at the Salt Licks, in what is now Mahoning county, Ohio, with the killing and capturing of a few squaws. It was the first "campaign" into the Indian country from Southwestern Pennsylvania during the Revolution. Hand wrote Crawford more fully before starting upon the expedition. The two letters are subjoined:

"Fort Pitt, *December* 28, 1777.

"Dear Crawford:—As I expect the pleasure of seeing you in a few days, I shall defer communicating a matter I much wish to set on foot, until that time.

"There are at Cuyahoga, about one hundred miles from here, a magazine of arms and provisions, sent from Detroit, and fifteen batteaux lie there. You may guess the rest.

"Yours, etc.,

"Edward Hand.

"Col. Wm. Crawford."

"Yohogania County, *February* 5, 1778.

"Dear Sir:—As I am credibly informed that the English have lodged a quantity of arms, ammunition, provision, and clothing at a small Indian town, about one hundred miles from Fort Pitt to support the savages in their excursions against the inhabitants of this and the adjacent counties, I ardently wish to collect as many brave, active lads as are willing to turn out, to destroy this magazine. Every man must

No. 34.—Washington to the Board of War.

Headquarters, Valley Forge, *May* 23, 1778.

Dear Sir:—I have been favored with yours of the 19th, with its inclosures, on the subject of the Indian ravages upon the western frontier. Previous to the receipt of it, I had put that part of the 13th Virginia regiment which remained here under marching orders, with an intent of sending them to Fort Pitt; as they were raised in that country. Immediately upon receiving the account of the alarming situation of the frontier inhabitants from you, I ordered the 8th Pennsylvania regiment to march. They were also raised to the westward, and are a choice body of men; about one hundred of them have been constantly in Morgan's rifle corps. These two regiments will march hence, with the full number of two hundred and fifty men.

There are upward of one hundred of the 13th Virginia now at and near Fort Pitt, and many deserters belonging to both will come in, when they find their regiments are to do duty in that country.

As Colonel Russell[1] of the 13th Virginia regiment is al-

be provided with a horse, and every article necessary to equip them for the expedition, except ammunition, which, with some arms, I can furnish.

"It may be necessary to assure them that every thing they are able to bring away shall be sold at public vendue for the sole benefit of the captors, and the money equally distributed—tho' I am certain that a sense of the service they will render to their country will operate more strongly than the expectation of gain. I, therefore, expect that you will use your influence on this occasion, and bring all the volunteers you can raise to Fort Pitt by the 15th of this month.

"I am, dear sir,

"Your obedient, humble servant,

"Edward Hand.

"Col. Wm. Crawford.

"N. B.—The horses shall be appraised, and paid for if lost."

[1] William Russell, a Virginian. He early attempted to settle within "the limits of the expected new government" upon the Ohio, but

ready at Fort Pitt, and Colonel Brodhead[1] commands, and goes up with, the 8th Pennsylvania, it was impossible to give the command of the detachment to Lieutenant-Colonel Butler.[2] Indeed he does not seem to wish to go upon

failed. The following account of his mishap is from *Rind's Pa. Gaz.*, Dec. 23, 1773:

"The following inhuman affair we are assured from good authority was transacted on the frontiers of Fincastle [county, Virginia; the then most westerly county of the province], about the latter end of September last. Captain William Russell, with several families and upwards of thirty men, set out with the intention to reconoitre the country toward the Ohio, and settle in the limits of the expected new government. A few days after they set out, unluckily the party was separated into three detatchments; the main body in the front with the women and children and their cattle and baggage; in the center was Captain Russell's son with five white men and two negroes, who, the fatal night before the murder, encamped a few miles short of the front. In the morning, about daybreak, while asleep in the camp, they were fired upon by a party of Indians, who killed young Mr. Russell and four other white men and one negro. Captain Russell, shortly after, bringing up the rear, unexpectedly came upon the corpse of his son, which was mangled in an inhuman manner; and there was left in him a dart-arrow, and a war-club was left beside him. After this unexpected event, the party getting intelligence of it returned to the inhabitants."

[1] Daniel Brodhead raised a company of riflemen in 1775, and took part in the battle of Long Island. He was afterward appointed Colonel of the 8th Pennsylvania regiment, and marched to Fort Pitt, as indicated above, in the summer of 1778. Here he served under General Lachlan McIntosh, until the next spring, when he succeeded to the command of the Western Department, headquarters at that post. He retained his position until the fall of 1781, making a very efficient and active commander; twice leading expeditions into the Indian country, in both of which he was successful. He was, after the war, Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania. He died at Milford, that State, on the 15th November, 1809.

[2] Richard Butler. At the beginning of the Revolution, he was made a Lieutenant-Colonel, holding the same rank, at date of this letter, in Morgan's rifle corps, but was Colonel of the 9th Pennsylvania regiment at the close of the war. He was afterward agent of Indian affairs in the West; and in the expedition of St. Clair against the Indians, in 1791, he commanded the right wing of the army with the rank of Major-General. He was killed by the savages on the 4th of November, after receiving several wounds, being tomahawked and scalped by the merciless foe.

the expedition, as he says his influence is not so great among the inhabitants of the back country as the Board imagine. From his knowledge of the Indian country, their language and manners, he certainly would be very useful; and I shall, therefore, either send him or Colonel John Gibson [1] up, who, I am informed, can render equal service. I can very ill spare the troops which I have sent, especially the 8th Pennsyl-

[1] John Gibson was born at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on the 23d of May, 1740. He received a classical education, and was an excellent scholar at the age of eighteen, when he entered the service. His first campaign was under General Forbes, in the expedition which resulted in the acquisition of Fort Duquesne—afterward Fort Pitt—from the French. At the peace of 1763, he settled at that post as a trader. War broke out, shortly after, with the Indians, and Gibson was taken prisoner at the mouth of Beaver in what is now Beaver county, Pennsylvania, together with two men who were in his employ. They were, at the time, descending the Ohio in a canoe. One of the men was immediately tortured at the stake, and the other shared the same fate as soon as the party reached the Kanawha. Gibson, however, was preserved by an aged squaw, and adopted by her in the place of her son, who had been killed in battle. After remaining several years with the Indians, and becoming familiar with their language, manners, customs, and traditions, he again settled at Fort Pitt, resuming his occupation of trading with the Indians.

In 1774, Gibson acted a conspicuous part in the expedition against the Shawanese, under Lord Dunmore; particularly in negotiating the peace which followed. It was upon this occasion, near the waters of the Scioto river, in what is now Pickaway county, Ohio, that Logan, the Mingo chief, made to him the speech so celebrated in history.

On the breaking out of the Revolution, Gibson was the Western agent of Virginia, at Fort Pitt. After the treaty held in October, 1775, at that post, between the Delawares and representatives of the Shawanese and Senecas on the one part, and the Commissioners of the American Congress on the other part, by which the neutrality of the former tribe was secured, he undertook a tour to the Western Indians in the interest of peace. Upon his return, he entered the service, rising, finally, to the command of the 13th Virginia regiment, being sent back to Fort Pitt as indicated by Washington, in the above letter, in the summer of 1778. He remained at that post until the close of the war. He was a member of the convention which framed the Constitution of the State of Pennsylvania in 1790; and, subsequently, was a judge of Allegheny county, that State; also, a major-general of militia. He was Secretary of the Territory of Indiana until it became a State. He died in Fayette county, Pennsylvania, April 10, 1822.

vania regiment, which composed the greatest part of Morgan's corps, as the drafts and recruits from the different States not only fall short of the stipulated numbers, but come in extremely slow.

If Colonel John Gibson goes up, he will take the command of the 13th Virginia regiment pro tempore, and Colonel Russell will come down to Gibson's. There is a dispute subsisting between Colonel Russell and Colonel William Crawford for the 13th Virginia regiment, and I do not mean that this temporary appointment of Colonel Gibson to the command of it should prejudice Colonel Crawford's claim, should he incline to prosecute it hereafter. If the two regiments to be raised upon the frontiers are not disposed of I would recommend Colonel Crawford to the command of one of them. I know him to be a brave and active officer, and of considerable influence upon the western frontier of Virginia. I am, etc.

No. 35.—Crawford to Washington.

Fort Pitt, *July* 12, 1779.

Dear General:—Sometime last summer, I wrote you in regard to my being left out of the Virginia Line, as it put it out of my power to serve as an officer with the Continental army with my proper rank;[1] but I do not know whether my letter came to your hands or not.[2]

When General McIntosh went to Headquarters this spring, he told me he would acquaint you with my case.[3]

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[1] Crawford having been detached from the 13th Virginia regiment, was never after able to secure his proper place in the Continental line, much as Washington desired to accommodate him.

[2] This letter was probably never received by Washington.

[3] In May, 1778, Brigadier-General Lachlan McIntosh was appointed by Washington to the command of the Western Department, at Fort Pitt. He arrived at that post early in August, relieving Brigadier-

He gave me for answer that I must attend at Headquarters myself, or I could not have the matter settled; but that I might have to stay some time to have my matters some way arranged; which I must beg leave to do, there being a way of having them now done, Congress having sent an auditor to this Department for the purpose of settling accounts of the army.

Colonel Clark's affairs have changed the disposition of the Indians much.[1] They have done very little mischief this summer; and in particular since the people down the river burnt the Shawnese town, or part of it, and killed three of their chief men.[2] A very little trouble would de-

General Edward Hand. His exertions were directed against Detroit, to accomplish the destruction of which, he caused to be built, in October, Fort McIntosh, near the present site of Beaver, in Beaver county, Pennsylvania, and afterward, marching into the Indian country, erected Fort Laurens upon the Tuscarawas, half a mile below the present town of Bolivar, in Tuscarawas county, Ohio. His plans against Detroit proved, in the end, abortive; and in the spring of 1779 he was recalled at his own request, being succeeded in command by Colonel Daniel Brodhead, of the 8th Pennsylvania regiment. He repaired immediately thereafter to Washington's headquarters, as mentioned by Crawford in the above letter.

[1] Early in 1778, Lieutenant-Colonel George Rogers Clark, having planned a secret expedition against the Illinois country, then in possession of Great Britain, arrived in the western country to further his plans. In May, with a small force, he set sail for the Falls of the Ohio. The result of the expedition was the capture of Kaskaskia, St. Phillips, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, and Vincennes. The effect was, as Crawford states, to change, for a time, the disposition of many of the Western Indians, and, permanently so, a number of tribes living upon the Mississippi river nearest to the scenes of his conquest.

[2] In the month of May, 1779, Colonel John Bowman, of Kentucky, collected together a small army to attack Chillicothe, a Shawanese town about three miles north of the present town of Xenia, county-seat of Greene county, Ohio. With two hundred and sixty-two men, early in the morning of the 30th of that month, he encompassed the village and set fire to it. His success was only partial in its destruction—the council-house of the enemy defying the assaults of the Americans. After killing several of the savages and securing a large amount of plunder, the expedition returned with slight loss, proving by no means a failure, although not as much was accomplished as had been expected.

stroy the whole of the Shawanese towns by sending a party of about six hundred men to the mouth of Licking creek,[1] below the Scioto; from there, it is no more than fifty miles, as I am informed, by those that were in the action, and a good road the whole way, there being no hills or defiles to prevent us from carrying two field pieces, four to six pounders, that would batter down block-houses which the Shawanese have built to defend themselves in their towns. The people at Kentucky and at the Falls would be glad, as they have informed us that they would join a party from this place for that purpose. When the corn is in roasting ears would be a good time for the expedition. I only mention this, Sir, for your consideration, in case matters should not be otherwise settled.

Colonel Brodhead has spoken to me to join him with some of the militia of Virginia to go on a short campaign against a Mingo town up the Alleghany, which I have agreed to; as I would not wish to hurt the service, or leave it in the power of him to say I did not do everything I could to serve my country; which is the only motive I have for serving one moment.[2] As soon as that is done and my accounts are settled, I will attend at Headquarters, unless you should order me otherwise.

As soon as Fort Randolph, at the mouth of the Kanawha, was evacuated, the Indians burnt it.[3] Agreeable to my

[1] "Licking creek" empties into the Ohio, at Covington, Kentucky, opposite the city of Cincinnati. It was at its mouth that the companies under Bowman rendezvoused.

[2] At the date of this letter, the Senecas and Monseys, from their towns far up the Alleghany river, were so much in the habit of marauding upon the northern frontier line of the Western settlements, that Colonel Daniel Brodhead, then in command at Fort Pitt, resolved to punish their audacity, by marching against them from that post, early in August. His expedition was successful. It effectually checked the murderous incursions of the savages from the north. Crawford accompanied the army "with some of the militia of Virginia," as he expresses it; meaning thereby the militia of his region, who were still spoken of as Virginians.

[3] Fort Randolph, at Point Pleasant, was evacuated not long previous to this date. It was built in the spring of 1775, by Virginia troops under command of Captain Matthew Arbuckle.

promise, I advertised your land on Miller's run, forewarning all persons from purchasing any part of it, as some were proposing selling it; and I shall do it again, as the land office is now open for patenting lands in the New Purchase.[1] I hope, Sir, you will excuse my troubling you with this long letter. I am, etc.

No. 36.—CRAWFORD TO WASHINGTON.

FORT PITT, *August* 10, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL:—Agreeable to my promise the last time I had the pleasure of seeing you, I advertised your lands on Chartier's that are settled by those men I formerly informed you of. They still remain on the land.[2] I suppose you may have heard the Land Office is to be opened the first of October next. All land settled is to be entered now with the Treasurer at Williamsburgh, the purchase money to be paid to him, and his receipt to the surveyor is the warrant. Any land settled and improved is to be purchased at the old rate, and unimproved land at £40 per hundred acres; there can be no more than four hundred

[1] Washington, as will be seen below, had previously obtained a patent for these lands, of Lord Dunmore.

[2] Lord Dunmore, as Lieutenant and Governor-General of the Colony of Virginia, issued a patent to Washington for these lands, on the 5th of July, 1775, for the amount of two thousand eight hundred and thirteen acres. They were described as "being in Augusta county, Virginia, on the waters of Miller's run, one of the branches of Chartier's creek, which is a branch of the Ohio." It is in the present township of Chartiers, in Washington county, Pennsylvania.

In the Autumn of 1784, Washington visited these lands, and brought suit in ejectment, in Washington county, for their recovery from Samuel McBride, James McBride, Thomas Biggart, Wm. Stewart, Brice McGehan, John Reed, Thomas Glen, James Scott, William Hillis, and Matthew Johnson. In this suit, he was successful. On the 1st of June, 1796, he sold the lands to Matthew Ritchie, of Washington county, for the sum of twelve thousand dollars.

acres in a survey. This is what I am told is the Acts of the Assembly, but I have not seen them as yet. All disputes about improvements are to be settled by auditors for that purpose, appointed by the Assembly, who are to attend on the premises.

Your Round Bottom tract, I suppose, will be settled that way, as a patent has not yet been obtained for it, as I understand. Should I be here at the time it is settled, I will attend. If I do not, you may chance to lose it, as I am better acquainted with the circumstances than any other person. Young Tomlinson, who first improved the land, was with me when I surveyed it, and carried the chain round it, and gave up any title he had to you, upon my informing him that you claimed that land. There was no improvement on the land when I surveyed it for you but Tomlinson's, as I saw. Your houses down the river are all burnt by the Indians. Kentucky and the Falls are settling very rapidly.

Your present situation will not admit of your obtaining any of those lands without some assistance. Young Harrison is going down immediately. I intend getting him to take a good tract of two or three thousand acres, if it is to be had, for which I will fall on some way of securing it for you and acquaint you by the first opportunity. I mention this, as you may want some near the Falls or some place of convenience, as all these places will in a short time be taken, if not already. I believe I shall go there myself, as soon as I can be at liberty from the service of my country. I intend to go to Headquarters as soon as I conveniently can. I wish you success, and remain your most humble and obedient servant.

No. 37.—Crawford to Washington.

May 23, 1781.

Dear General:—Sometime ago, I wrote you relative to your Round Bottom tract of land. I can never find out what has been done about it, whether Thomas Lewis has returned it or not. If you can give me any direction about it, I will do anything in my power for you. The survey ought to be returned to the office, if it has not been. This I will have done, if it has not been returned; as I can have it done immediately.

I intend going out with General Clark, on the present expedition, if my health will permit;[1] but I am very unhealthy lately, having got much cold on the two last expeditions, they having been made in the winter, or, at least, in cold weather. Any directions you may want to give me, you can send by Mr. Randolph, who comes to my house on his way to General Clark. I am, etc.[2]

[1] This was an expedition intended, in reality, to strike Detroit—but first to attack the Indian tribes that had their homes between Kentucky and that post; as the army was to move from that country. George Rogers Clark with volunteers and militia obtained from the vicinity of Fort Pitt, including a regiment of Virginia State troops and a company of artillery—in all about four hundred men—moved down the Ohio from Pittsburgh about the first of August, 1781, for the Falls (Louisville). The enterprise, finally, proved unsuccessful. Crawford did not accompany the expedition as he had intended.

[2] This, so far as is known, ended the correspondence between Crawford and Washington. One year and a day from that date, he penned his last letter, while on his way to Sandusky, upon the expedition which cost him his life, particulars of which are given in Butterfield's *Crawford's Campaign against Sandusky, in* 1782. It was directed to Brigadier-General William Irvine, who was then in command of Fort Pitt, under whose authority he was acting. In it are these words: "I shall endeavor to do all in my power for the good of my country."

APPENDIX.

I.

WASHINGTON TO JOHN WITHERSPOON.

MOUNT VERNON, *March* 10, 1784.

REVEREND SIR:—The recourse which I have had to my papers since I returned home, reminds me of a question which you asked me in Philadelphia, respecting my lands to the westward of the Alleghany mountains; to which I was unprepared at that time to give a decided answer, either as to the quantity I had to let or the terms upon which I would lease them.

Upon examination, I find that I have patents under the signature of Lord Dunmore (while he administered the government of this State) for about 30,000 acres, and surveys for about 10,000 more, patents for which were suspended by the disputes with Great Britain, which soon followed the return of the warrants to the land-office.

Ten thousand acres of the above thirty [thousand] lie upon the Ohio; the rest on the Great Kenhawa, a river nearly as large, and quite as easy in its navigation, as the former. The whole of it is rich bottom land, beautifully situated on these rivers, and abounding plenteously in fish, wild-fowl, and game of all kinds.

The uppermost tract upon the Ohio (which I incline to lease), contains 2314 acres, and begins about four miles below the mouth of the Little Kenawha (there are two rivers bearing that name,[1] the uppermost of which is about one hundred and eighty miles below Fort Pitt by water), and has a front on the water of more than five miles. The next is eighteen miles lower down, and contains 2448 acres, with a front on the stream, and a large creek which empties into it, of four miles and upwards. Three miles below this again, on the same stream, and just above

[1] Washington's meaning is that there are two rivers called Kenhawa (Kanawha): the Little Kenhawa and the Great Kenhawa.

what is called the Big Bend, in Evans' Map,[1] is a third tract of 4395 acres, with a river front of more than five miles.

Then going to the Great Kenhawa, distant about twelve miles by land, but thirty odd to follow the meanders of the two rivers, and beginning within three miles of the mouth, I hold lands on the right and left of the river, and bounded thereby forty-eight miles and a half; all of which, being on the margin of the stream, and extending not more than from half a mile to a mile back, are, as has been observed before, rich, low grounds.

From this description of my lands, with the aid of Evans' or Hutchin's Map,[2] of that country, a good general knowledge of their situation may be obtained by those who incline to become adventurers in the settlement of them; but it may not be improper to observe further, that they were surveyed under the Royal Proclamation of 1763 (granting to each commissioned and non-commissioned officer, according to his rank, and to the private soldier certain quantities), and under a yet older proclamation from Mr. Dinwiddie, then lieutenant-governor of the colony, issued by the advice of his council to encourage and benefit the military adventurers of the year 1754, while the land-office was shut against all other applicants. It is not reasonable to suppose, therefore, that those who had the first choice, had five years allowed them to make it, and a large district to survey in, were inattentive either to the quality of the soil, or the advantages of situation.

But supposing no pre-eminence in quality, the title to these lands is indisputable; and, by lying on the south-east side of the Ohio, they are not subject to the claims of the Indians; consequently will be free from their disturbances, and from the disputes, in which the settlers on the north-west side (when the Indians shall permit any) and even on the same side lower down will be involved; for it should seem that there is already location upon location, and scarce anything else talked of but land-jobbing and monopolies, before Congress have even settled the terms upon which the ceded lands are to be obtained. . . .

With sentiments of great esteem and respect, I am, etc.[3]

[1] "A General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America," etc. By Lewis Evans, 1755.

[2] "A New Map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania," etc. By Thomas Hutchins, London, 1778.

[3] This letter has been published in full by Sparks; so, also, have the two which follow. See "Writings of Washington," Vol. XII., pp. 264, 275, 317.

WASHINGTON TO THOMAS FREEMAN.

September 23, 1785.

SIR:—The situation of my affairs on the western waters in the States of Pennsylvainia and Virginia requiring a superintendent, and you having been pleased to accept the appointment, I must beg leave to point out to you the performance of such duties as are particularly necessary.

These will be to settle tenants upon my lands; collect the rents which will arise therefrom, the debts which will proceed from the sale of my copartnership effects, such others as may be due to me from persons living as above; and, in general, to act and do (where no particular instruction is given) in the same manner as you would for yourself under like circumstances; endeavoring in all cases by fair and lawful means to promote my interest in this country.

My land on the Ohio and Great Kenhawa will be rented on the terms contained in a printed advertisement herewith given you; and, as my disbursements will be great, I should prefer the last-mentioned therein to the other two, as the immediate profit arising therefrom is greatest. It is my wish, also, that each tract could be rented on the same terms, though I do not bind you thereto.

The remainder of my untenanted lands, in the tract commonly called and distinguished by the name of *Washington's Bottom*,[1] may be rented on the best terms you can obtain, until the close of the year 1794, and no longer. Less than what I am to get from the other tenants on the same tract, after allowing them three years free from the payment of rent, I should not incline to take; more, I think, ought to be had and may be got.

My tract at the Great Meadows may be rented for the most you can get for the term of ten years. There is a house on the premises, arable land in culture, and meadow inclosed. Much of the latter may be reclaimed at a very moderate expense; which, and its being an excellent stand for an innkeeper, must render it valuable.

All my rents are to be fixed in specie dollars (Spanish coin),

[1] This tract is the one on which Perryopolis, Fayette county, Pennsylvania, is now located.

but may be discharged in any gold or silver coin of equivalent value. The tenants, in all cases, are to pay the land-tax, which, to prevent disputes, is to be expressed in the leases; and it will be a necessary part of your duty to visit them at proper and convenient periods, to see that the covenants, to the performance of which they are bound, are strictly fulfilled and complied with.

Where acts of Providence interfere to disable a tenant, I would be lenient in the exaction of rent; but, when the cases are otherwise, I will not be put off; because it is on these my own expenditures depend, and because an accumulation of undischarged rents is a real injury to the tenant.

In laying off and dividing any of the lands herein mentioned into lots and tenements, particular care must be had, that they are accurately surveyed, properly bounded, and so distributed as to do equal justice to the several grantees and to the grantor; that a few may not injure the whole, and spoil the market of them.

If you should not have offers in a short time for the hire of my mill[1] alone, or for the mill with one hundred and fifty acres of land adjoining, I think it advisable, in that case, to let it on shares, to build a good and substantial dam of stone where the old one stood, and to erect a proper fore-bay in place of the trunk which now conducts the water to the wheel; and, in a word, to put the house in proper repair. If you should be driven to this for want of a tenant, let public notice thereof be given, and the work let to the lowest bidder; the undertaker finding himself, and giving bond and security for the performance of his contract. The charges of these things must be paid out of the first moneys you receive for rent or otherwise. If I could get fifteen hundred pounds for the mill and one hundred acres of land most convenient thereto, I would let it go for that money.

As a compensation for the faithful performance of all these services, I agree to allow you five per cent for all the money which shall be collected and paid to me or for my use, whether arising from rents, bonds, notes or open accounts, or from the sale of wheat or flour taken for rents and converted into cash. Also twenty shillings, Pennsylvania currency, for every tenant who

[1] This mill is the one already mentioned as having been built at the site of the present Perryopolis, Pa.

shall be fixed on any of my land, and who shall receive a lease for the same on the terms mentioned; and the further sum of two dollars for every lot which you shall lay off for such tenants, together with such reasonable expenses as may be incurred thereby.

Washington to Presley Neville.

Philadelphia, *June* 16, 1794.

Sir:—I should have written you at an earlier period, but for the extreme hurry into which I was thrown at the close of the session of Congress, which did not terminate before Monday last, and from my not having adverted, in time, to the Pittsburg post-day of last week. This letter, as I shall set out for Virginia to-morrow, is left to go by next Saturday's mail.

Inclosed is a blank power, authorizing Mr. Charles Morgan, or any other with whose name you shall fill it, to collect the rents arising from my land in Fayette and Washington counties, in this State, together with such arrearages as may be due for the preceding years, if any there be. Another blank is also left, which I pray you to fill up with the percentage to be allowed as a compensation for the trouble and expense of collection. The inducements to this are, first, because I do not recollect what Colonel Cannon[1] has been allowed for his services; and, secondly, because there is no invariable allowance established, places and circumstances varying it.

A letter from Colonel Cannon is also inclosed, requesting him to give the necessary information to his successor, and to desire that he would discontinue all further agency in my business. This letter is left open, for your insertion of the name of his successor. The emolument arising from this collection is too trifling to become an object worthy your acceptance, or I should never have inquired for another before I had offered it to you.

From the experience of many years, I have found distant property in land more pregnant of perplexities than profit. I have therefore resolved to sell all I hold on the Western waters, if I can obtain the prices which I conceive their quality, their

[1] John Canon. He resided at Canonsburg, Washington county, Pennsylvania, a town laid out by him on the 15th of April, 1788. Before that date, it was known simply as "Canon's."

situation, and other advantages would authorize me to expect. Conversing with Mr. Ross, one of your senators, on this subject, a day or two before he left the city, he gave it to me as his opinion that the present juncture was favorable for the sale of my land in this State, and was so obliging as to offer his services to effect it. He thought the quality of my land in Fayette county, together with the improvements and show of iron-ore within less than thirty yards of the mill door, ought on credit to command six dollars [an acre]. The other I have always held at four dollars. The former tract contains 1,644 acres; the latter, 2,813 acres by the patent, but it measures more than 3,000 acres by subsequent survey.

If, Sir, as you live at Pittsburg, the probable place of inquiring after land in that country, you should find it convenient, and not militating against any plans of your own, to make mention of mine, and to aid Mr. Ross in the sale of these tracts, it would oblige me.

If a fourth of the purchase money is paid at the time of conveyance, a credit of four, five, or six years might be allowed for the remainder, provided it is fully secured, and the interest thereon regularly paid at one of the banks in this state—Baltimore, Georgetown, or Alexandria. To receive this without trouble, and with punctuality, as it becomes due, will be insisted upon.

My land on the Ohio and Great Kenhawa rivers, amounting to 32,373 acres, was once sold for sixty-five thousand French crowns, to a French gentleman, who was very competent to the payment at the time the contract was made; but, getting a little embarrassed in his finances by the revolution in his country, by mutual agreement the bargain was canceled. Lately, I have been in treaty for the same land, at three dollars and a third per acre for the whole quantity; but, being connected with other matters, it is not likely to result in a bargain, as I once expected, and therefore I am at liberty to seek another market.

To give a further description of these lands than to say they are the cream of the country in which they are, that they were the first choice of it, and that the whole is on the margin of the rivers, and bounded thereby for fifty-eight miles, would be unnecessary to you, who must have a pretty accurate idea of them and their value. But it may not be amiss to add, for the information of others, that the quantity before mentioned is contained in seven surveys, to wit: Three on the Ohio, east side,

between the mouths of the Little and Great Kenhawas. The first is the first large bottom below the mouth of the Little Kenhawa, containing 2,314 acres, and is bounded by the river five miles and a quarter. The second is the fourth large bottom, on the same side of the river, about sixteen miles lower down, containing 2,448 acres, bounded by the river three miles and a quarter. The third is the next large bottom, three miles and a half below, and opposite nearly to the Great Bend, containing 4,395 acres, with a margin on the river of five miles. The other four tracts are on the Great Kenhawa. The first of them contains 10,990 acres, on the west side, and begins within two or three miles of the mouth of it, and is bounded thereby for more than seventeen miles. The second is on the east side of the river, a little higher up, containing 7,276 acres, and bounded by the stream thirteen miles. The other two are at the mouth of Cole river, on both sides and in the fork thereof, containing together 4,950 acres, and, like the others, are all interval land, having a front upon the water of twelve miles.

Besides these, I have the Round Bottom, opposite to Pipe creek, about fifteen miles below Wheeling, which contains 587 acres,[1] with two miles and a half front on the river, and of quality inferior to none thereon; and 234 acres at the Great Meadows, on Braddock's road, with the allowances.

For the whole of these tracts taken together, I would allow seven years' credit, without requiring a fourth of the purchase money to be paid down, provided the principal is amply secured, and the interest also, in the manner before mentioned; for to have no disappointment or trouble in the receipt of this must be a *sine quâ non*. If the tracts are sold separately, I should expect a fourth of the purchase to be paid down, and more than three dollars and a quarter per acre for the Round Bottom and the tract of 10,990 acres on the Great Kenhawa, knowing from my own view the extraordinary value of these tracts. With very great esteem and regard, I am, etc.

[1] This tract Washington sold to Archibald McClean; and, instead of 587 acres, it was found, by accurate survey, to contain over one thousand.

II.

VALENTINE CRAWFORD'S LETTERS TO WASHINGTON.

JACOB'S CREEK,[1] *April* 27, 1774.

DEAR SIR:—Since I wrote you, my brother came home and is sworn in, having received his commission.[2] He was very friendly treated at Staunton. It was out of his power to send you your plats as you desired. I went to Gilbert Simpson's as soon as I got out, and gave him the bill of scantling you gave me, and the bill of his articles. I offered him all the servants[3] that he might take them to your Bottom,[4] until we got our crews at work; but he refused for fear they would run away from him. As we had our canoes to build, I could not spare the carpenters, as I am endeavoring to get ready to start as soon as I possibly

[1] Jacob's creek is an affluent of the Yougiogheny river, falling into that stream on the right, in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania.

[2] The commission here spoken of as having been received by William Crawford, was that of captain of militia. His object in accepting the office was to aid in protecting the border from the threatened Indian invasions, by raising and commanding a company of men to act as scouts down the Ohio.

[3] These were convict servants from Great Britain. Such servants were constantly sent to Virginia, up to the time of the Revolution, and were sold to servitude in the colony. The following is from the *Virginia Gazette*, March 3d, 1768:

"Just arrived—the *Neptune*, Captain Arbuckle, with one hundred and ten healthy servants, men, women, and boys, among whom are many valuable tradesmen, viz.: tailors, weavers, barbers, blacksmiths, carpenters and joiners, shoemakers, a stay-maker, cooper, cabinet-maker, bakers, silversmiths, a gold and silver refiner, and many others. The sale will commence at Leedstown, on the Rappahannoc, on Wednesday, the 9th of this (March). A reasonable credit will be allowed on giving approved security to

"THOMAS HODGE."

[4] By this is meant the land then belonging to Washington, usually known as Washington's Bottom, in what is now Fayette county, Pennsylvania. Simpson was, at that date, engaged upon Washington's mill. It will be remembered that this mill was afterward spoken of by William Crawford as located at "Simpson's," the site of the present town of Perryopolis.

can;[1] but it appears to me the most troublesome business I ever undertook in my life. However, I shall endeavor to go through with it with all the resolution I possibly can. I would fain hope to give you satisfaction, but I am afraid it is out of my power.

I shall write you very full in my next, before I start. I am, etc.

P. S.—I hope I shall be able to start in four or five days.

JACOB'S CREEK, *May* 6, 1774.

DEAR COLONEL:—I am sorry to inform you that the disturbance between the white people and the Indians has prevented my going down the river; as all the gentlemen who went down are returned, and most of them have lost their baggage, as I wrote more particular in my other letter. I will refer you to my brother's letter for the news.

I got my canoes and all my provisions ready, and should have set off in two or three days but for this eruption, which I believe was as much the white people's fault as the Indians. It has almost ruined all the settlers over the Monongahela, as they run as bad as they did in the year 1756 and 1757, down in Frederick county.[2] There were more than one thousand people crossed the Monongahela in one day. I thought it, therefore, dangerous to go down with so much of your property, and so came to a resolution to send my son down to you to know what I must do with your servants and goods, and how I must act with your hirelings.

As to the goods, I have stored them; and I went to Mr. Simpson as soon as I came up, and offered him some of the carpen-

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[1] Valentine Crawford was then nearly ready to start down the Ohio, with laborers and supplies, intending to improve some of the lands belonging to Washington, which had been secured to the latter by the aid of William Crawford.

[2] After Braddock's defeat, there was a general uprising among the Western tribes of Indians against the English. Then, for the first time, the frontiers of Virginia experienced the horrors of savage warfare. The recollection of those times was still vivid, it seems, in the mind of Valentine Crawford, who then resided in Frederick (afterward Berkeley) county, now Jefferson county, West Virginia.

ters and all the servants; but he refused taking them—the latter, for fear they would run away; he has, however, now agreed to take some of both: the carpenters to do the framing for the mill, and the servants to dig the race. Stephens[1] has agreed to quit, provided the Indians make peace, and you will employ him again. He has all his tools here, and it would be out of his power to get them back again, as he has no means of conveyance.

I am afraid I shall be obliged to build a fort until this eruption is over, which I am in hopes will not last long. I trust you will write me full instructions as to what I must do. Mr. Simpson, yesterday, seemed very much scared; but I cheered him up all I could. He and his laborers seemed to conclude to build a fort, if times grew any worse. I am building a kind of block-house myself, and have employed some of your carpenters to help me, which I will settle with you for. I have run you to as little cost as possible for provisions, as our journey is stopped; but if peace should be made soon, I shall provide more, as I have my canoes ready, unless you order me to the contrary when my son returns.

As you are largely bail for me, and kindly went my security to the sheriff, I have sent you a bill of sale of my land I live on for fear of accidents in war; as you are the last man in the world I should choose to be loser by me. In case I can not go down the river for you, if you should choose to sell the servants, my brother, William Crawford, wants two of them; but if there is the least chance of going, I am ready and willing to serve you to the best of my ability. I am, etc.

JACOB'S CREEK, *May* 7, 1774.

DEAR SIR:—I am sorry to inform you the Indians have stopped all the gentlemen from going down the river. In the first place, they killed one Murphy, a trader, and wounded another; then robbed their canoes.[2] This alarmed the gentlemen very

[1] Stephens was a millwright, and was engaged by Washington upon the mill he was then erecting, as will presently be seen.

[2] For ten years immediately following Pontiac's war, there was peace upon the Western border; but it was a nominal one; for, during the whole time from 1764 to 1774, murders were frequent—committed sometimes by the

much; and Major Cresap took a party of men and waylaid some Indians in their canoes, that were going down the river, and shot two of them and scalped them. He also raised a party, took canoes and followed some Indians from Wheeling down to the Little Kanawha; when, coming up with them, he killed three and wounded several. The Indians wounded three of his men, only one of whom is dead; he was shot through, while the other two were but slightly wounded. On Saturday last, about 12 o'clock, one Greathouse, and about twenty men, fell on a party of Indians at the mouth of Yellow creek, and killed ten of them. They brought away one child a prisoner, which is now at my brother William Crawford's.[1] These circumstances have put it out of my power to execute your business. I, therefore, came to a resolution to send my son down to you to let you know of this disagreeable disappointment, and to learn what I must do with your carpenters, servants, and goods. This alarm has caused the people to move from over the Monongahela, off Chartier's and Raccoon [creeks], as fast as ever you saw them in the year 1756 or 1757, down in Frederick county, Virginia. There were more than one thousand people crossed the Monongahela in one day at three ferries that are not one mile apart.

Mr. Simpson seems much frightened at this alarm; but I went to him the day after I got home to Jacob's creek, and offered him all the servants and some of the carpenters. As we were obliged to make our own canoes, some of the carpenters I had to retain to work on them. Just as I had got all our canoes and

savages, and at other times by the whites. Neither side was prepared by a continuous forbearance to avoid a conflict which, sooner or later, would be surely brought on between them. "The surveyors that went down the Kanawha," wrote William Crawford, two days after the above letter was written by his brother Valentine, "as report goes, were stopped by the Shawanese Indians." This, as he understood it, was the first act in the bloody drama of 1774. But Valentine Crawford had quite another report to give of the "beginning of the end:" "In the first place, they [the Indians] killed one Murphy, a trader, and wounded another; then robbed their canoes." Doubtless, among the Indians, the first overt act was charged up to the Long Knives. It is certain there were aggressions on both sides.

[1] The exact date of this exploit of Greathouse and party, usually known as the "Yellow creek massacre," so long a matter of uncertainty, is fixed by the above, beyond a peradventure—Saturday, April 30, 1774. The Mingo, Logan's brother, known as John Petty, his mother and sister—the latter the mother of the child, then only two months old—were all slain. The child-prisoner being Logan's niece, it follows that his relatives were not all killed.

our provisions and everything ready to start, we were stopped by the alarms as above. I have stored all your goods and tools safely; and if the Indians should come to a pause, I am ready to start at the shortest warning.

Your servants are all in very good health, and if you should incline selling them, I believe I could sell them for cash out here to different people. My brother, William Crawford, wants two of them, and I would take two myself; or, if this disturbance should be settled, I could push down the river immediately, and could do a great deal this fall. In the meantime, your men might build some houses at your Bottom or at the Great Meadows; or, as I mentioned, the carpenters would be willing to be discharged, if you would be willing to employ them again as soon as this difficulty is over. Pray give me full particulars how to act in this troublesome affair. I am, etc.

GIST'S,[1] *May* 13, 1774.

DEAR SIR:—I write to let you know that all your servants are well, and that none have run away. Mr. Simpson has as many of the carpenters as he can find work for, and has got some of the servants assisting about the seat for the mill, until this storm of the Indians blows over.

We this day received some cows from Wheeling. Several of the inhabitants of that part are gone back and are planting their corn.

David Shepherd,[2] who lives down at Wheeling, moved his family up to my house, but he has gone back himself, and is planting his corn. I am sure if he can stay at Wheeling, I can go down with your men and go to work on your land; but, until my son, whom I have sent to you, returns, I shall let Mr. Simpson keep all the men he chooses, both carpenters and ser-

[1] Now Mount Braddock, Fayette county, Pennsylvania, the former home, it will be remembered, of Christopher Gist, the first white settler west of the Alleghany mountains. Gist was not alive at the above date.

[2] David Shepherd was long a prominent citizen of the West. As Lieutenant of Ohio county, Virginia, he rendered very efficient service, during the Revolution, in protecting the country along the Ohio river, above and below Wheeling, from savage incursions. In April, 1781, he commanded one hundred and thirty-four militia, in the campaign against Coshocton, an Indian town, now the site of Coshocton, Ohio, under the lead of Colonel Daniel Brodhead.

vants. As for the laborers I employed for you and Doctor Craik, I have discharged them, and they are gone with my brother William, under pay as militia, to guard the people down about Chartier's, to enable them to get their stock away;[1] as many of the inhabitants came away and left everything they had behind them. But there are numbers of them since, returning back and planting their corn, but have left their wives and children behind, in our neighborhood. I hope, therefore, to be able yet to go down the river, if we have no worse news, in a short time; but I shall wait for my son's returning with an answer from you. I wrote you very fully by him, and I write this line or two by Mr. Johnson, who is going straight to Williamsburg, where he will meet with you; so, pray, write me very fully how I am to act. I am, etc.

P. S.—I saw some gentlemen who came very lately from Williamsburg, at my house, last night, and they say there will be a new county set off. They also informed me that Lord Dunmore has issued a proclamation that he will find both men and money to defend our frontier; so, as I gave you a hint before, I hope you will not forget me and my son; as we are determined to stay on the frontier, and a commission would be of great advantage to us, and would add to the favors from you.

JACOB'S CREEK, *May* 25, 1774.

DEAR COLONEL:—I embrace this opportunity by the express that Connolly sent to the Governor, to let you know that all your servants are well and none run away.

From all accounts Captain Connolly can get from the Indian towns, they are determined for war; and he has sent to all the people of Monongahela, to let them know that a large number of Shawanese have left their towns in order to cut off the frontier inhabitants. This has alarmed the people of our neighborhood so much that they are moving over the mountains very fast; but I have, with the assistance of some of your carpenters and servants, built a very strong block-house; and the neigh-

[1] This was only a small part of the design in Captain Crawford's movement down the Ohio, early in May, 1774. The principal object was to go as low as Wheeling, to watch the movements of the Indians. It will be recollected that he proceeded as far as Grave creek, but saw no savages.

bors, what few of them have not run away, have joined with me, and we are building a stockade fort at my house. Mr. Simpson, also, and his neighbors have begun to build a fort at your Bottom; and we live in hopes we can stand our ground till we can get some assistance from below.

I expect my son back very soon from you with orders what I must do. Until then, I am much at a loss what to do with your people and goods. In case I am obliged to move, what must I do with your meats and goods? as it will be hard to get conveyances to bring them over the mountains again; so I shall be glad if you will send me a letter by the express; as I expect you will receive this in Williamsburg, and will have an opportunity to send me back an answer immediately by the express who carries this. If anything more has occurred since receiving the letters I sent you by my son, you can write me. I am, etc.

JACOB'S CREEK, *June* 8, 1774.

DEAR COLONEL:—I received your letter by Mr. Cresley of the 27th of May, and am sorry for the sudden breaking up of the Assembly, before they hit on some method to relieve our distressed situation; but it is a happy circumstance for us that Lord Dunmore is so warm in our favor.[1] This gives us great resolution to stand our ground, what few of us are left; though the country is very thin.

We have built several forts out here, which was a very great means of the people standing their ground. I have built one

[1] The Virginia Assembly was dissolved by Lord Dunmore, on the twenty-sixth day of May, 1774, for having passed resolutions of sympathy with their oppressed fellow-citizens of Boston, that port having been closed by the British Parliament, to punish them for their audacity in destroying the tea in Boston harbor. Lord Dunmore afterward declared that the Assembly of Virginia had neglected to provide for the exigencies of the border, though sufficiently apprised of them. He immediately issued orders to the commandants of the border counties, directing them to put their respective localities in a proper posture of defense, and, at the proper time, to act on the offensive; as the disposition of the Indians gave no longer any hopes of pacification. He declared that he would, at his own risk, supply the borderers with ammunition. There can be no doubt of his Lordship's sincerity in taking these measures for the protection of the frontiers; nor can there be any doubt as to his acting in good faith toward Virginia, in negotiating with the Indians the peace which followed.

at my house, and have some men to guard it. Mr. Simpson has, also, built a fort at the place where they are building your mill, by the assistance of his neighbors and part of your carpenters. I have been there several times, and have encouraged him all I can to stand his ground. I have several times offered him all the carpenters and all the servants; but he would not take any of the servants, and but four of the best of the carpenters. His reasons for not taking the servants are that there is a great deal of company at the fort, and drink middling plenty. He thinks, therefore, that it would be out of his power to govern them. He said they would run away from him. As to the carpenters, he and Stephens, the millwright, had already engaged some before the eruption with the Indians. These they are loth to discharge and take in those you engaged for me to take down the Ohio, at least, any more of them than they can conveniently work; as he says, from Indian alarms and the crowds of people that come to the fort, he can get nothing done, even with the small number of hands he has.

I will go to Simpson's to-morrow morning and consult him farther on the affair, and do everything in my power for your interest. The thoughts of selling your servants alarmed them very much; for they do not want to be sold. The whole of them have had some short spells of sickness, and some of them cut themselves with an ax, causing them to lay by some time. One of the best of Stephens' men cut himself with an adze the worst I ever saw anybody cut in my life. He has not been able to do one stroke for near one month. This happened in digging out the canoes. . . .[1] When I wait on Simpson, if he does not take the carpenters, I shall either set them building a house at the Great Meadows, or discharge them entirely; for it seems almost impossible to keep men close to business at a fort, where there are so many people and so much confusion. If they can do anything it must be at the [Great] Meadows; as there they will be to themselves. Stephens seems very loth to be discharged. He says he left some very good jobs to come to you.

On Sunday evening, about four miles over Monongahela, the Indians murdered one family consisting of six, and took two boys prisoners. At another place, they killed three, which makes, in the whole, nine and two prisoners. If we had not

[1] A line here, being unintelligible, it is omitted. It has reference, in some way, to Mr. Stephens, the millwright.

had forts built, there would not have been ten families left this side of the mountains, besides what are at Fort Pitt. We have sent out scouts after the murderers, but we have not heard that they have fallen in with them yet. We have, at this time, at least three hundred men out after the Indians, some of whom have gone down to Wheeling; and I believe some have gone down as low as the Little Kanawha. I am in hopes they will give the savages a storm; for some of the scouting company say they will go to their towns but they will get scalps.

Mr. George McCormick, who carries you this, is to return immediately, and will bring me an answer. As to your meats and other things, I have built a strong storehouse and stored them up safe; and if we could hope for peace soon, I think no people could execute your business better than those servants, as they will be hardened to the ways of this country, and they seem very well satisfied. I believe they will not run away; or, at least, they say they will not from you, but will serve out their time honestly. I am, etc.

P. S.—Give my love to Mr. Lund Washington, and tell him his people are well, but have moved into a fort near his place.[1]

JACOB'S CREEK, *June* 8, 1774.

DEAR SIR:—Since I just wrote you, an account of several parties of Indians being among the inhabitants has reached us. Yesterday they killed and scalped one man in sight of the fort on the Monongahela—one of the inmates. There were two men sworn that they yesterday saw thirty Indians. These men met about thirty of the scouts some five miles from the place where the savages were seen. The scouts immediately pursued them; but we have not heard further of them. The party that murdered the family, about which I wrote you in my other letter, was followed by one . . . ,[2] a young man that Connolly ap-

[1] The employes of Lund Washington, at this date, were improving the tract of land which had been secured for him by William Crawford, as mentioned in George Washington's Journal of the 14th of October, 1770: "I intended to have visited the land which [Captain William] Crawford had procured for Lund Washington this day, also, but, time falling short, I was obliged to postpone it."

[2] There is so much doubt at this point whom the writer intended to name as Connolly's lieutenant, that it is thought best to omit the word altogether.

pointed a lieutenant, with a party of about thirty men. They overtook the Indians, released some prisoners, and recovered sixteen horses and a good deal of plunder the savages had taken from people's houses; but they killed no Indians.

There have been several parties of savages seen within these two or three days,[1] and all seem to be making toward the Laurel Hill, or mountain. For that reason, the people are afraid to travel the road by Gist's, but go a nigh way by Indian creek, or ride in the night.[2] My brother and I have concluded to take all your men and servants into pay as militia, and keep our ground until we can get help from below.[3] Your letter, which I have shown to several people, has been of infinite service to us, as it encourages many people to stand their ground in hopes of relief—from what you wrote. But there is one unhappy circumstance: our country is very scarce of ammunition and arms. I have, therefore, taken the liberty to write to you to get me two quarter-hundred casks of powder and send them as far as Ball's Run to my mother's,[4] or Colonel Samuel Washington's or Keyes' ferry, where I can get them up here by pack-horses. I want no lead, as we have plenty.

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[1] The leader of the Mingoes, who were depredating at this time in the settlements on Ten-mile, Dunkard, Whitely, and Muddy creeks—western tributaries of the Monongahela, in what was then considered by them as Virginia territory—was Logan, their chief. With him, however, were some Shawanese. Up to the last of June, 1774, they had taken sixteen scalps in all—when the wrath of Logan, for the killing of his relatives opposite the mouth of Yellow creek, was somewhat appeased; but he soon appeared again upon the war-path.

[2] The "road by Gist's" was the thoroughfare well known as "Braddock's road," the route generally traveled by Virginians in going over the mountains. It ran south from Jacob's creek, crossing the Youghiogheny at the home of William Crawford; thence "by Gist's," the Great Meadows, and so on, along the line nearly of the present National road, to the North branch of the Potomac. The route by Indian creek did not cross the Youghiogheny at Stewart's crossings, but continued along on the north side of that river.

[3] "From below;" that is, "from east of the mountains, in Virginia."

[4] The mother of William and Valentine Crawford had long been a widow. Her maiden name was Onora Grimes. Crawford, her first husband, died when the two boys were young. She then married Richard Stephenson. Five sons and one daughter were born of the second marriage, when the second husband died. The mother, in her prime, was a woman of uncommon energy and great physical strength, yet kind in disposition and very attentive to her children. She died in 1776.

I beg of you to assist us, as you are better judge of our needs than almost any other gentleman. By your letters to me and my brother, you seem to be as well acquainted with our distress as if you were here in person; so I ask you to write me very fully in your next. I am, etc.

JACOB'S CREEK, *July* 27, 1774.

DEAR COLONEL:—On Sunday evening, or Monday morning, William Orr, one of the most orderly men I thought I had, ran away, and has taken a horse and other things. I have sent you an advertisement[1] of him. I am convinced he will make for some ship in Potomac river. I have sent two men after him, and furnished them with horses and money. I have also written to my brother, Richard Stephenson, in Berkeley, and James McCormick, to escort the men I sent, and to forward this letter and advertisement to you. I should have followed him myself,

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[1] The advertisement spoken of by Valentine Crawford was in these words:

"FIVE POUNDS REWARD.

"Run away from the subscriber, living on Jacob's creek, near Stewart's crossing, in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, on Sunday night, the 24th instant, a convict servant man, named William Orr, the property of Col. George Washington. He is a well-made man, about five feet ten inches high, and about twenty-four years of age. He was born in Scotland, and speaks that dialect pretty much. He is of a red complexion, and very full-faced, with short, sandy-colored hair, and very remarkable thumbs, they being both crooked. He had on, and took with him, an old felt hat, bound with black binding; one white cotton coat and jacket, with black horn buttons; one old brown jacket; one pair of snuff-colored breeches; one pair of trowsers, made in sailors' fashion—and they are made of sail duck, and have not been washed; a pair of red leggins, and shoes tied with strings; two Osnaberg shirts, and one Holland shirt marked 'V. C.,' which he stole, and a blanket.

"He stole, likewise, a black horse, about fourteen hands high, branded on the near shoulder and buttock 'R. W.,' and shod before. He had neither bridle or saddle that we knew of. I expect he will make to some seaport town, as he has been much used to the seas. Whoever takes up said servant, and secures him, so that he and horse may be had again, shall receive the above reward, or three pounds for the man alone; and reasonable charges, if brought home, paid by me. VAL. CRAWFORD,

"For COL. GEO. WASHINGTON.

"*July* 25, 1774.

"N. B.—All masters of vessels are forbid taking him out of the country, on their peril. V. C."

but all the men, except some old ones, are gone with my brother down to the Indian towns.[1]

Since they started, there have been some savages seen about the Monongahela. We hourly expect them to strike somewhere. They have killed and taken, within this ten days, thirteen people up about the forks of Cheat river, which are about twenty-five miles from me. I would have followed the man who run away myself, but I have charge of both of my brothers' families, until they return. Besides, if I would leave home, the people would all give up my fort, and move over the mountains. I have above two hundred people in my fort at this time, chiefly women and children. All the men have gone to the Indian towns; and ever since they set off, all their families are flown to the forts.

It seems to me that our standing our ground here depends a good deal on the success of our men who have gone against the savages. The Governor wrote very earnestly to Captain Connolly to give my brother, William Crawford, the command of all the men that are gone against the Indian towns.[2] They number, including the militia that came from below, seven hundred men. It was also the wish of the Governor that Connolly himself should reside at Fort Pitt. However, Major McDonald came up here, and is gone down to Wheeling, in order to take the command; but I have seen several letters from Lord Dunmore,

[1] The expedition "down to the Indian towns," which "all the men, except some old ones," were gone upon, was planned by Connolly, at "Fort Dunmore" (Pittsburgh), his purpose being to build a stockade fort at Wheeling creek, also one at the mouth of the Hockhocking, intending to "send parties, at the same time, against the Shawanese towns," some of which were upon the Muskingum, others upon the Scioto—northern tributaries of the Ohio. William Crawford, in engaging in this enterprise, made his second trip down the river as captain. The first thing done was the erection of a fort at the mouth of Wheeling, which was named Fort Fincastle.

[2] Colonel Andrew Lewis, having been authorized by Governor Dunmore, on the tenth of June, to march an army down the Great Kanawha river, and erect a fort at its mouth, and then, if thought proper, to attack the hostile savages in their towns beyond the Ohio, his Lordship, a few days after, wrote Connolly, then in command at Fort Pitt, as follows: "You could not do better than send Captain William Crawford, with what men you can spare to join him, to co-operate with Colonel Lewis, or to strike a blow himself, if he thinks he can do it with safety. I know him to be prudent, active, and resolute."

both to my brother and to Connolly, and he has not mentioned McDonald's name in them.[1] I heard by Mr. Brown, the express, who told me himself, that, on Thursday last, he parted with Lord Dunmore, at Winchester, and he was to proceed immediately to this neighborhood, where I hope he will regulate matters himself.[2]

I have sold all the men but two; and I believe I should have sold them, but the man who is run away had a very sore foot, which was cut with an ax, and was not long well, and John Smith was not well of the old disorder he had when he left your house. I sold Peter Miller and John Wood to one Mr. Edward Cook, for £45, the money to be applied to the use of building your mill. I sold Thomas McPherson and his wife and James Lowe to Major John McCulloch and Jones Ennis, for £65, payable in six months, with interest from the date of sale. To my brother, I sold Wm. Luke, Thomas White, and the boy, John Knight. He is either to pay you for them, or he loses them in case you can prosecute your designs down the river. I took John Smith and William Orr on the same terms; so that, in justice, I am accountable to you for the man, if he is never got.

I should have sold the whole of the servants agreeable to your

[1] In July, 1774, Major Angus McDonald arrived over the mountains, with a considerable force of Virginia militia, which, when embodied with those already raised in the West, amounted, according to the above statement, to seven hundred men. McDonald "went down to Wheeling, in order to take command," as there the whole force rendezvoused. A stockade fort (Fort Fincastle) was erected under the joint directions of Major McDonald and Captain Crawford.

On the twenty-sixth of July, about four hundred men, having left Wheeling, arrived at the mouth of Fish creek, on the east side of the Ohio, twenty-four miles below. Here they determined to move against the Shawanese villages upon the Muskingum river, in what is now Muskingum county, Ohio. The men were led by Major McDonald. Captain Crawford remained at Fort Fincastle. The expedition proved successful. Wakatomica, near what is now Dresden, Ohio, and other Shawanese towns, were destroyed, and considerable plunder secured. This was the first effective blow struck by Virginia troops in Lord Dunmore's War.

[2] Lord Dunmore left Williamsburg, Virginia, July 10, 1774, for the frontiers, reaching Fredericksburg on the fifteenth, and Winchester some days after. Here he remained some time, to get in order as many men as possible for service against the savages. Such as were raised in the counties of Frederick, Berkeley, and Dunmore, were put under command of Adam Stephen as colonel. About the end of August, they marched for Pittsburgh, accompanied by his Lordship.

letter, if I could have got cash or good pay; but the confusion of the times put it out of my power. Out here, we have one day peace, and the next day war. It is hard to know how to act, even if you were here yourself. I have been confined at home ever since I came up here. I only went down to Fort Pitt a day or two, and two of my own servants and two militia men ran away. I followed them, and caught them all down at Bedford, and brought them back. While I was gone, two of your men, John Wood and Peter Miller, stole a quantity of bacon and bread, and were to have started that very night I got home; but a man of mine discovered their design. I sold them immediately, and would have sold the whole, if I could, or delivered them to Mr. Simpson, but he would not be concerned with them at any rate.

My wagon and team have been at work at your mill for some time, hauling timber, stone, and lime and sand for it. I went over to assist in hauling some of the largest of the timber, but the late alarming accounts of the Indians have stopped the workmen, and I have brought home my team. I consider it a pity that the mill was ever begun in these times. It appears to me, sometimes, that it will be a very expensive job to you before it is done. All the carpenters I brought out for you stopped work on the sixth of May, except some who were at work on your mill; these I pay myself. I shall observe your orders in regard to settling with the carpenters.

Pray take all pains you can in advertising for the man who ran away, to prevent his getting off by water. I am, etc.

FORT FINCASTLE,[1] *October* 1, 1774.

DEAR SIR:—In the hurry of my business, I have just time to give you a line or two by Lord Dunmore's express, to let you know how we go on in this quarter with the Indian War, which is as follows:

His Lordship arrived here yesterday with about twelve hundred men,[2] seven hundred of whom came by water with his

[1] This fort, located at the site of the present city of Wheeling, West Virginia, was afterward well known as Fort Henry, its name being changed in honor of Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia. During the Revolution, it was several times assailed by the enemy, but was never taken.

[2] This number included all the militia brought to the West by Dunmore,

Lordship, and five hundred came under my brother William, by land, with the bullocks. His Lordship has sent him with five hundred men, fifty pack-horses, and two hundred bullocks, to meet Colonel Lewis, at the mouth of Hockhocking, below the mouth of the Little Kanawha. He is to build a stockade fort, or a large block-house, which is to be erected on one of your Bottoms, below the mouth of the Kanawha. His Lordship is to go by water with the rest of the troops in a few days. We were in hopes of a peace being concluded between his Lordship and the Indians; but on Wednesday morning last there were murdered by the savages one man and his wife and several prisoners taken, on Ten-mile creek. This alarmed his Lordship, much as the Indians had been peaceable for some time, and some of the defiant nations had met him at Fort Dunmore,[1] promising to meet him again at the mouth of Hockhocking to accommodate a peace,[2] which we all hope for, if we can get it on good terms, in

as well as those previously there under the command of Major McDonald; also such as were raised in the settlements west of the mountains. As the harvest was then over, it was a favorable time to gather in the borderers for the expedition.

[1] Fort Pitt was named Fort Dunmore after it was taken possession of by Connolly, in honor of Governor Dunmore. The Pennsylvanians, however, still adhered to the old name, which was fully restored when his Lordship became odious to the Virginia patriots.

[2] In September, while Dunmore was at Pittsburgh, he succeeded in getting together at that point a few individuals of the different nations of Indians living beyond the Ohio, to hold a treaty with them. They promised to meet him, as above stated, at the mouth of the Hockhocking, "to accommodate a peace." Major Crawford, with his five hundred men, reached his destination in safety, but did not erect a fortification on Washington's land, on the east side of the Ohio, but crossed that stream, and commenced, at the mouth of the Hockhocking, a stockade, which, as has previously been mentioned, was called Fort Gower—Dunmore, with his division, arriving in time to take part in its construction. Meanwhile, Colonel Lewis, with the southern division of the army, was moving down the Great Kanawha. It had been determined by his Lordship to have that officer, on his arrival upon the Ohio, move up stream and join him at the mouth of the Hockhocking. The savages who, at Fort Pitt, promised to meet Dunmore down the Ohio, with additional members of their respective tribes, failed to arrive. Only two chiefs made their appearance, and both these were Delawares. But that nation, it was well understood, was not hostile; so no treaty could be made with the enemy.

At this time, Dunmore was ignorant as to whether Lewis had reached the Ohio or not, a message sent by him having arrived at the mouth of the

order that we may be able to assist you in relieving the poor, distressed Bostonians—if the report here is true that General Gage has bombarded the city of Boston. This is a most alarming circumstance, and calls on every friend of the liberty of his country to exert himself at this time in its cause.

You seem to scrutinize closely the way I have conducted your business; but times have been in great confusion here with us, and some of the people I had to deal with were very great villians, and took advantage of the situation. I wrote you very fully how your affairs, in my hands, were, and I hope you will excuse my not giving Mr. Young as satisfactory account of things as I could wish. I most solemnly declare that I sent you several letters which you say never came to hand, and you likewise make mention of some you wrote me, which I have never seen. I expect, if it please God that I am spared, to be down at your house by Christmas, and to remove those reports you have heard of my conduct, when I will settle everything as much to your satisfaction as in my power. I am, etc.

P. S.—My trip down the river this Summer will be of advan-

Great Kanawha in advance of that officer. Another express was thereupon dispatched, which, on the eighth of October, found him at Point Pleasant (the mouth of the Great Kanawha), where he arrived two days previous. But it was impossible for him to move up the Ohio to meet Dunmore, on account of the non-arrival of supplies and ammunition, and of a portion of his troops. Meanwhile, scouts had been sent to Dunmore by him, who returned on the thirteenth, with an order from his Lordship to march directly toward the Shawanese towns, and join him at a certain point on the way. Governor Dunmore now put his division in motion for the same destination. On his way to the Indian villages, he was overtaken by a courier from Lewis, acquainting him with the hard-fought battle of the tenth of October, at Point Pleasant, where his army contended all day long with a large force of Shawanese and other savages, only to claim the victory at nightfall, after a severe loss in killed and wounded. On the seventeenth, Lewis crossed the Ohio, and took up his line of march for the Scioto, to join Dunmore.

His Lordship was met, before he reached the Indian villages, with a deputation from the enemy, anxious for an accommodation; for a peace had already been conquered by the Virginians, at a sacrifice of many valuable lives, in the battle at Point Pleasant. So the Governor found little difficulty in arranging for a treaty. But the arrival of Lewis and his gallant troops, fresh from the red field of conflict, breathing revenge against the savages, was an element difficult to control. However, no order of Dunmore was intentionally disobeyed by Lewis, who was commanded to return to Point Pleasant. A peace was negotiated by Dunmore with the Shawanese, which put an end to the war.

tage to you in the event of your sending me down, on your business, next Spring, in case a peace is concluded with the Indians. Give my compliments to Doctor Craik, if you should see him.

[MOUNT VERNON],[1] *March* 23, 1775.

DEAR COLONEL:—I came to this place on Friday evening, and I should have come down sooner, but I did not receive your drafts till a few days before I started, and thinking you might be gone to the Congress, I thought it advisable to send them to you by Captain Rutherford; as you might meet with Mr. Lewis there, and have them examined by him yourself.

I hope you will excuse my not bringing down my accounts and expense in transacting your business over the mountains, as it is not in my power to settle till I have some conversation with yourself, and then I will.

I am in great hopes of settling things to your satisfaction. I am informed there have been vicious stories told you in regard to my conduct; but had you been on the spot yourself it would have confused you to have heard the complaints of the distressed, poor people who came to my fort. I frequently desired Mr. Simpson to take the servants and employ them at work at your mill.[2] . . .

I sent two men after the man that ran away, and found each of them horses, and money to bear their expenses. One went to Baltimore, and the other down through Virginia. They were gone three weeks, and I could not get the exact amount of their expenses, but it will be very moderate.

I expect to be down in June, and I will, I trust, settle everything to your satisfaction. As you have been a good friend to me and all my family, I am in hopes you shall never suffer for your kindness. I am fully convinced that it will be in my power to pay every man I owe a shilling by next fall, if my life is spared. If I can not raise that money for Fowler, I will, you may depend, deliver myself up to jail, and clear you. But you may depend, without some important accident happens me, I shall be able to raise a considerable sum by fall, as I have got so much good land for sale, that will command money.

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[1] This letter, although no place is mentioned, was written at Mt. Vernon, as the context shows.

[2] A few lines, at this point, in the original letter, are not legible.

I should have waited until you came home, but I want to get home immediately; and you may depend that every assistance in my power I will give Mr. Cleveland, in helping him out or down the river. When I come down in June, I will bring a statement of everything I did for you. I hope to give you full satisfaction for every act of friendship done for me. I am, etc.

P. S.—I have left your honor a belt of peace, which I hope you will receive from yours, V. C.

JACOB'S CREEK, *June* 24, 1775.

DEAR SIR:—I am very sorry to inform you I received a letter from Mr. Cleveland, of the 7th of June, wherein he seems to be in a good deal of distress. Five of the servants have run away, and plagued him much. They got to the Indian towns, but, by the exertions of one Mr. Duncan, a trader, he has got them again. He has sent three of them up by a man he had hired, with a letter to my brother William or myself, to sell them for you; but the man sold them himself somewhere about Wheeling, on his way up, and never brought them to us. He got £20 Pennsylvania currency for them, and gave one year's credit. This was very low, and he did not receive one shilling. This was contrary to Cleveland's orders, as the latter wanted to raise some cash by the sale to purchase provisions. I think it would be advisable, if the men they are sold so low to are not good, to take them from them, and sell them again. But the man shall not be stopped for want of money, for I will furnish him, and will assist Mr. Simpson in getting started as quick as possible with his canoe and provisions. Mr. Cleveland left some corn at Mr. Simpson's when he went down, and I will get him some flour to load his canoe.

Mr. Cleveland sunk a canoe going down, and lost five or six casks of corn and several other things. James McCormick and Charles Morgan found a bag of clothes and several other things, a few days after, as they were going down the river. They delivered them to Mr. Cleveland again, as they knew they belonged to his company, by some papers they found in the bundle.

Cleveland does not mention of his getting any but the three servants he sent to be sold, but Mr. Duncan told me yesterday,

at Fort Dunmore,[1] that he got the whole five who ran away. Dr. Craik's manager has had very bad luck; for, in the canoe that was sunk, he lost all his papers. He was much at a loss to find his land, or, at least, to find the corner trees; but I have sent him all the plats and junctions I had from the Doctor; and lest a letter I have written to the latter should miscarry, you can inform him of that fact. I hope to be down in Fairfax as soon as ever I reap my harvest, and will then settle all my accounts with you.

We have chosen committees out here and are raising an independent company—regulating matters the best we can; but an unhappy confusion happened the other day. The Pennsylvanians came to Fort Pitt with the Sheriff and about twenty men, and took Major Connolly about midnight, and carried him as far as Ligonier, the very night before we were to have the talk with the Indians.[2] Several of the Pennsylvania traders, by the Indians' story, were endeavoring to put ill into their minds. On Major Connolly being taken, the people of Chartier's came in a company and seized three of the Pennsylvania magistrates, who were concerned in taking off Connolly—George Wilson, Joseph Spear, and Devereux Smith. They were sent in an old leaky boat down to Fort Fincastle under guard. Our court, however, had no hand in this. It was done by a mob or set of Connolly's friends who live on Chartier's creek.

The members of our committee wrote a very spirited letter to the gentlemen of the Pennsylvania committee, demanding Connolly back. All signed it, and sent it with an express. On its receipt, they immediately sent Major Connolly back.[3] Things

[1] Meaning Fort Pitt—Pittsburgh.

[2] In the treaty made at "Camp Charlotte," in October, 1774, between Lord Dunmore and the Shawanese, it was arranged that a supplemental treaty should be held in the ensuing spring, at Pittsburgh. His Lordship was to inform the chiefs by a message when it would suit him to meet them there, to settle some minute matters that could not well be attended to at the first meeting. Trouble with the colony put it out of the power of Dunmore to again visit Fort Pitt. So Major Connolly was deputed to take charge of affairs with the Indians. Only a few Delawares and Mingoes could be induced to attend upon his call. While engaged in preparations to have a "talk" with the assembled chiefs, he was arrested, as above stated.

[3] The information given in this letter, concerning the arrest and delivering up of Connolly, supplies an important link in the early history of Pittsburgh, heretofore missing. A letter from Ligonier, by Arthur St. Clair, to

now seem to be a little moderated. I believe the Indians want nothing but peace; but it seemed to alarm them very much to hear our great man was stolen. Indeed it alarmed us all, as Major Connolly was the man that had transacted all the business with them before. No other person was so able to settle business with them as he. I hope you will excuse the length of my letter. I am, etc.

P. S.—Please give my compliments to Mr. Lund Washington. Tell him his people are well, and in a very good way to make a good crop of corn.

J. Shippen, Jr., giving an account of the affair, though known to have been written, has long been lost. It seems that the Pennsylvania magistrates, while confined at Wheeling, "were exposed to every species of insult and abuse;" while the treatment of Connolly, at Ligonier, was quite the reverse: "While Connolly was at my house," wrote St. Clair, on the twelfth of July, "endeavoring to procure bail, I treated him with a good deal of civility." The turbulent career of this over-zealous agent of Dunmore, at Pittsburgh, ended soon after. On the twenty-fifth of July, 1775, he left Fort Dunmore (Fort Pitt), on a visit to his Lordship, already plotting in the interests of the mother country against the colonies. He had, indeed, carried matters at Fort Pitt "too much in a military way," as William Crawford aptly expressed it. But his rule was at an end, greatly to the relief of Southwestern Pennsylvania.

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